Perspective subjects the artistic phenomenon to stable and even mathematically exact rules, but on the other hand, makes that phenomenon contingent upon human beings, indeed upon the individual: for these rules refer to the psychological and physical conditions of the visual impression, and the way they take effect is determined by the freely chosen position of a subjective "point of view." Thus the history of perspective may be understood with equal justice as a triumph of the distancing and objectifying sense of the real, and as a triumph of the distance-denying human struggle for control; it is as much a consolidation and systematization of the external world, as an extension of the domain of the self.
– Erwin Panofsky

What is at stake is the self-image of the viewer; enhanced by the passivity of the female, he is active, autonomous, rational, independent, self-controlled. But this subjective stance is in fact threatened by the very act of erasing the subjectivity of the "not-me," the objectified other. Her repressed subjectivity becomes unknowable, her mind and her intentions inscrutable, and her body takes on a dangerous power uncontrolled by a conscious mind.
- Mimi Still Dixon

Why do we all hate the proscenium stage?
– Heather Inglis

**University of Alberta**

# Taking on Realism: English Women Dramatists at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century

by

Lesley Elizabeth Peterson ©

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**for Judith and Eric**

# Abstract

Whereas the Senecan tragedies *Antonius* (1590), by Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, and *The Tragedy of Mariam* (c. 1605), by Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess Falkland, are no longer universally dismissed as anti-theatrical and unstageworthy, certain features of these dramatic texts continue to pose difficulties for critics. In particular, the purposeful movement of queens through public spaces, including the very public progress that Pembroke's Cleopatra and Cary's Mariam each makes towards the place of her impending death, is kept resolutely off stage. In a study that takes account of both visual and verbal texts of the period (portraiture, poetry, and drama), I analyze the strategies available to aristocratic women for performing virtuous autonomy at the close of the sixteenth century in England, taking as my point of departure the fact that, until the painted backdrops and proscenium stage designed by Inigo Jones for the masques of King James I, English theatre's many spectacles did not depend on the particular illusions of single-point perspective. Challenging both authoritative narratives of artistic progress and universalizing constructions of spectatorship and the gaze, I argue that both Pembroke and Cary judiciously adapt Elizabethan modes of representation, in dramatic texts that celebrate the radically unfixed woman even as they resist making of martyrdom a pornographic spectacle. And I assert that, in order to stage either *Antonius* or *Mariam* for a contemporary audience, we need to begin by understanding how the performance inscribed in each text constructs a uniquely Elizabethan version of what Judith Butler refers to as the "scene of enabling vulnerability" (*Excitable Speech* 2).

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I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Patricia Demers, who believed in this project, and in me, long before I did. Her support and patience are equalled only by her erudition; I could not hope to begin to tally all I have learned from her or all the ways in which she continues to influence my thinking. With Isobel Grundy and Garrett Epp I have enjoyed many thought-provoking conversations about drama, history, and writing from which I have benefitted enormously. Juliet McMaster, too, has been a generous and inspiring mentor. It is the most fortunate of junior scholars who encounters such fine senior scholars so willing to take an interest in her embryonic ideas. Dennis Cooley and Douglas Barbour were early guides to whom I shall always be grateful, for welcoming me into academia and for then forgiving me so graciously when I left Canadian poetry for Renaissance drama.

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# Introduction

## "The Impossible Scene"

## Early Modern Closet Drama by Women as/in Performance

> Criticism is a matter of correct distancing. It was at home in a world where perspectives and prospects counted and where it was still possible to take a standpoint.
> - Walter Benjamin, *One-Way Street*

### PROLOGUE: ENTER THE QUEEN

A generation before Mary Pembroke had the audacity to publish her translation of Robert Garnier's Senecan tragedy *Antonius* (written 1590, published 1592)[1] or Elizabeth Cary her *Tragedy of Mariam* (written 1602-04, published 1613), another woman publicly participated in the production of such academic drama, namely Elizabeth Tudor. When the queen visited Cambridge and Oxford in 1564 and 1566 respectively, stages were erected and plays performed at both universities, and in numerous ways Elizabeth herself was part of each performance. In King's College Chapel, Cambridge, the seat prepared for her was on the stage, above and behind the actors (Boas 92).[2] For the performances in Christ Church's hall two years later, once again a "canopied chair was arranged on the stage for the Queen in full view of the audience" (Boas 100). There she also held "the book," *i.e.* the playscript, source of the performance. Thus positioned, the queen could and did play an active, speaking part, supplementing the actors' lines with her own "pithy comments" (Boas 102), and thus authoring some of the lines heard by others attending the play.[3] She also may be considered to have authorized the production itself and the institution that presented it, as royal patron of both institutions.[4] And so on each occasion Elizabeth performed the roles of auditor, actor, and author(izer) of the production, all at once.

---

[1] The title of the first published edition of the work is *Antonius: A Tragedy* (1592). As does, for instance, Diane Purkiss, I accordingly refer to Pembroke's work as *Antonius* throughout this project. However, many of the critics whom I will be quoting use the short form of *Antonie*, taken from the title page of the 1595 edition, which identifies the play as *The Tragedie of Antonie*.

[2] The productions performed for her in Cambridge included a tragedy called *Dido* (no longer extant), which according to Boas was probably an "adaptation in Senecan *senarii* of the Virgilian lines" (94) and should not be confused with the text written by William Gager, discussed later in this Introduction.

[3] Seating the monarch on the stage in this way had for some time been standard practice, but it was a practice that Elizabeth's successor, James I, would break with, as I discuss in my first chapter.

We could say the same thing of many of her public appearances, whether primarily scripted by others (as with Philip Sidney's *The Lady of May*, 1579), by herself (as with her many speeches to Parliament), or by a complex process of negotiation, as with her progresses and processions.[5] Typically, for Elizabeth to perform such a plurality of roles involved performing the occupation of a plurality of positions before an ever-shifting sea of witnesses. One might well argue, for instance, that at Cambridge and Oxford Elizabeth's performances began well before the actors' did, with her very entrance into the college hall and her progress through the crowd towards that seat on the stage. For her authority on this occasion—her basic right to be there—was both exercised and constituted by the ceremony of her movement through the physical and social space of that all-male enclave. Admiring spectator and self-constructed spectacle, guest and patron, female intruder into a male-ruled space who is at the same time saintly sovereign of that space: Elizabeth's public self-representations helped to create a context in which it was for a time possible to imagine a woman who was vocal, chaste, and in charge—a radical revision of early modern England's conventional trilogy of interchangeable female virtues. In this project, I argue that in order to understand the nature of the performances inscribed in *Antonius* and *Mariam*, we must recognize the ways in which the authors of these dramatic texts adopt, and adapt, sixteenth-century English visual and verbal representations of that paradoxical thing, the virtuous woman who gets around.

---

[4] Henry VIII completed the construction of King's College Chapel, and had installed the oak screen that spans the width of the chapel and that bears the coats of arms of both Henry VIII and Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn. Christ Church was also a royal foundation; it was taken over by Henry VIII from Cardinal Wolsey and refounded in 1546.

[5] I allude here to Susan Frye's important work, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation*. Elizabeth W. Pomeroy's comment is also relevant: "The pageants associated with Elizabeth's visits ... were a steady series of mini-narratives offered to her over forty-five years, from beginning to end of her reign. She was both audience and participant (as her successor James never was) as her temperament and political instincts led her" (34).

Given the industry with which visual and verbal representations of Elizabeth I were circulated throughout Tudor England, and given the remarkable degree of physical liberty the queen regularly exercised, I consider her example important to Pembroke's and Cary's examination of the possibilities for virtuous autonomy available to women.[6] Certainly the sovereign's literacy was an example for the parents of such aristocratic women as Mary Pembroke Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, and Elizabeth Tanfield Cary, Viscountess Falkland. The thorough humanist education that both Pembroke and Cary received as children was largely inspired and legitimated by the examples set by Elizabeth Tudor and her sister Mary. Later, as adult wives of influential courtiers, Pembroke's and Cary's positions gave them rights and responsibilities that again in some ways mirrored those of the queen: they were expected to take charge of their own large and complicated households, and also to perform their family's status in public and court appearances.[7] But this is not to say that either Pembroke or Cary may be said to have followed Elizabeth's example in any straightforward way, either in their lives or in their art. For one thing, Elizabeth Tudor's performance of authority and autonomy was not designed to be easy to emulate. Neither Pembroke nor Cary could have penetrated those hallowed halls at Oxbridge as Elizabeth did on the occasions I describe above; blue blood and education were not enough. Only England's Virgin Queen possessed the requisite two bodies: the physical body of a virgin woman, and the mystical body politic.[8] As Elizabeth frequently emphasized, it was her body politic that gave her the right to move and speak as a "prince," and to transcend all borders within the nation. Even for the educated, aristocratic Englishwoman, then, Elizabeth's self-representations as sole sovereign of her body and her nation might just as well be supposed to inspire a sense of futility as a spirit of emulation.

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[6] Although Elaine Beilin maintains "the emphasis on Elizabeth's unique, divinely ordained position isolated her as a special case, and her public authority seems to have exerted little influence either on the private lives of her female subjects," she does make the point that "Elizabeth was an important aspect of at least one woman's poetry. Elizabeth, the heir to David's throne, appeared as an alter ego of Mary Sidney, the heir to David's lyre" in Pembroke's dedicatory poem in the Tixall Manuscript of the *Psalmes*, "To the Angell spirit of the most excellent Sir Phillip Sidney" ("History" 151).

[7] For the role of aristocratic women of a generation or two prior to their own, see Barbara J. Harris's *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers*. Harris finds that, despite laws, customs, and attitudes, "overwhelming evidence ... demonstrates that aristocratic women [in the period 1450-1550] gained wealth, authority, and power as they managed their husbands' property and households, arranged the marriages and careers of their children, maintained and exploited the kin and client networks essential to their families' political power, and supervised the transmission and distribution of property to the next generation" (6).

[8] Although a thorough discussion of this point is beyond the scope of the present project, it is important to acknowledge that, for performing the role of educated and courtly (but married) aristocratic woman, there

We might well wonder whether it is due to a sense of futility that, in both *Antonius* and *Mariam*, the authors choose to have key episodes happen off stage—episodes in which beleaguered queens, emphatically *not* sole rulers of either their nations or their bodies, find ways to perform their courage, virtue, and nobility of mind for admiring crowds of subjects, even as they move towards their death. There is no question that Pembroke's and Cary's work shows them both to be keenly interested in the idea of a vocal and active public woman.[9] Specifically, the issue of whether, and how, a queen may act in public is central to both authors' plays. The oft-quoted first line of *Mariam* is the queen's lament, "How oft have I with public voice run on" (1.1.1). Pembroke's play opens with Antony's lament for Cleopatra's act of publicly running *off*, that is, fleeing the scene of battle at Actium. Cleopatra, already condemning herself for venturing to battle, is devastated by the news that Antonius reads her flight from Actium as evidence of sexual infidelity; Mariam, determined to be chaste, nevertheless chafes at the rules that limit her physical movement and restrict her from entering into the social space of friendship with men she

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were other models available to the sixteenth-century Englishwoman besides that of their monarch. One such influential model was Castiglione's fictional depiction of the historical Duchess d'Urbino, in Sir Thomas Hoby's popular translation of *The Book of the Courtier* (1588). Visual and verbal representations of the Duchess, like those of Queen Elizabeth, associate chastity with both eloquence and mobility, with the liberty to move both the mouth in speech and the body in space. But although in many ways Castiglione's witty and gracious patron, ruling over her transient court, exemplifies a virtuous and vocal female autonomy, she limits her deferential rule to the bounds of her own (husband's) domain, and does not venture into the domains of others. Elizabeth's particular performance of chaste mobility, in comparison, gave her much greater power to enter and possess non-domestic spaces. Nevertheless, both duchess and queen had to negotiate, for the spaces they entered were always contested sites.

[9] As other critics and biographers have pointed out (Margaret P. Hannay, Barry Weller and Margaret Ferguson, and Marta Straznicky, *inter alia*), the very fact that both Pembroke and Cary allowed their written work to be published, and thereby to circulate publicly, signals their own interest in interrogating available models of female virtue.

respects.[10] But boundaries exceed opportunities, and it seems as though both authors choose themselves to set bounds to their queen's activities in the end. Cleopatra's spectacular feat of raising the dying Antony into her monument is reported, not scripted; Dircetus describes her strength of arms and of will, and the cheers of her people, to Caesar and Agrippa in act 4 of *Antonius*. Mariam's journey towards execution, her death, and the Butler's exonerating suicide speech afterwards form the subject of most of act 5 of *Mariam*, but none of this crucial sequence of events is scripted; the admiring Nuntio appears after the fact to describe events to Herod. Why, then, draw the veil over these regal performances? Both scripts include scenes of progress or arrival for male rulers. Caesar discusses policy while en route to Alexandria; Herod's crucial confrontation with Mariam occurs at the moment of his arrival, a scene that is not found in Cary's source texts: it is the moment that completes his passage from Rome through Jerusalem and his own palace gates. By contrast, the formal, purposeful movement of queens through public spaces, while crucially important in both texts, is never performed. It is only imagined by certain other characters, as well as by the queens themselves—remembered, anticipated, dreamt of, or feared.

Elizabeth Tudor's appearances were already memories by the time Cary wrote *Mariam*, and the representational strategies she favoured were already coming under attack or falling out of fashion by the time Pembroke wrote *Antonius*.[11] But I do not think that Pembroke and Cary had given up on imitating her, any more than I think that their commitment to increasingly old-fashioned representational strategies makes their work un- or anti-theatrical. The period which

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[10] See Laurie J. Shannon's discussion of Cary's examination of "the (male) model of friendship" and why "women are barred from developing such friendships" (151 ff.)

[11] I follow Weller and Ferguson in finding that "issues of male and female power … are arguably at the center of *The Tragedy of Mariam*" (20), a finding that has often been explained in terms of Cary's own difficult marriage. However, I should like to acknowledge Purkiss's important argument that "The emphasis on marriage in these plays [*Antonius* and *Mariam*] springs not from the authors' personal circumstances but from its centrality as a political metaphor. The relationship between monarch and subject was frequently understood in terms of the relationshp between husband and wife …. The marriage metaphor was used by political theorists to explore the issues which preoccupied Renaissance political thinkers: allowable and intolerable levels of resistance to tyranny, and questions of rebellion and tyrannicide and their justifications" (xxii). While I do not disagree with Purkiss, I would add that when the governing metaphor of "the relationship between husband and wife" changed in early modern English culture in the service of these changes, not only courtly and national politics changed as a result, but constructions of gender changed also.

Pembroke's and Cary's plays bracket, a period I am tempted to call "the long 1590s," was one of tension and rapid change, both politically and artistically. Certainly they were years of astounding growth in the popularity and quality of the public theatre in London and its suburbs; seen only in this context, as authors of early modern closet drama Pembroke and Cary have often been taken to be lamentably resistant to progress. But these same years witnessed the last Tudor being replaced by the first Stuart; they also witnessed the construction of the first proscenium stage in England (in Whitehall Palace) and the first use of single-point perspective in the service of theatrical illusion. Such changes did not necessarily represent improved opportunities for women to perform public, mobile, vocal virtue.[12] And at the turn of the seventeenth century in England the art of perspective was also pressed into the service of James I's program of self-representation, designed to assert his "divinely ordained patriarchal absolutism" (Raber 332) by, in part, reasserting the ideal of woman as one who is silent, chaste, obedient—and, unlike his predecessor, married.[13]

Clearly, one man's progress can be another man's—or woman's—funeral. But one woman's funeral can also be her triumph. It is a central argument of this project that *Antonius* and *Mariam* adopt and adapt some of the strategies of representation employed by Queen Elizabeth in order to deny both their male characters and their potential viewers alike the pleasure of occupying that which James Stuart was the first in England to insist upon consistently: a fixed, authoritative point from which to view the object of his gaze. In so doing, Pembroke's and Cary's dramatic texts create for their female protagonists the space required for, not self-effacement, but self-assertion; the space that makes possible resistance—resistance to the words, and the practices, that place woman in the role of Galatea to the viewer's Pygmalion, displayed, anatomized, and dismembered, for and by his fixed and fixing eye. Not every three-dimensional playing space is a proscenium stage. Not every performance is the sort of phantasmagoria that encourages its viewer to imagine himself the undisputed master of all he surveys. And not every change is an improvement. These, as I hope to show, are central themes of both Pembroke's *Antonius* and Cary's *Mariam*.

---

[12] Beilin suggests that, in *Mariam*, "Perhaps Cary was addressing an audience who worried about the 'fall' of England in the new century as the old Tudor order ceded to the new Stuart regime" ("History" 148).

[13] In his 1603 speech to Parliament, James I asserts: "What God hath conioyned then, let no man separate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife" (*Political Works*, 272). As Stephanie Hodgson-Wright points out, "the court masque displayed the beneficent rule of the father/King; in the early years of James VI and I's reign the court masque often focused upon his power to overcome unruly or unsightly women" (35). James I's attitude towards his female predecessor was not essentially different from that towards other women, as Julia M. Walker strongly suggests in her essay, "Bones of Contention: Posthumous Images of Elizabeth and Stuart Politics." Here Walker contrasts "the royal revision of her [Elizabeth's] position in English history, best exemplified by the removal of her body from under the altar of the Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey and its relocation in the marginal space of the north aisle, and the populist celebration of her reign evinced by the memorials in parish churches within the City of London" (252-53).

## A. DRAMATIC DECORUM: PEMBROKE AND CARY WRITE OUT OF THE TRADITION

> The universities did their part for tragedy in introducing into England that Senecan influence which spread by way of the Inns of Court to the popular theatres ....
> – F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 100

### 1. Seneca *versus* the stage

One change that I do consider an improvement is the increased willingness evident in recent years among critics of early modern drama to take *Antonius* and *Mariam* seriously as candidates for inclusion in the genre. There is no denying that *Antonius* and *Mariam* invite comparison most obviously with the closet dramas, also tragedies, of Samuel Daniel (*Cleopatra*, 1594; *Philotas*, 1604) and Fulke Greville (*Mustapha*, *c.* 1596; *Alaham*, 1601), both members of the Sidney-Pembroke circle. Until recently, this affiliation has constituted sufficient grounds for dismissal from the canon for all concerned.[14] As Margaret P. Hannay points out in 1990, a tenacious tradition aligns all these writers' closet dramas with the lamentable *Gorboduc*:

---

[14] Barry Weller and Margaret Ferguson also include Thomas Kyd's *Cornelia* (a translation of Garnier's *Cornélie*) with Pembroke's, Cary's, Daniel's, and Fulke Greville's as belonging to a group of dramas written "in an elite, quite untheatrical 'Senecan' style which, according to most literary historians, exerted little influence on the later English theatre" (1994, 27), although Kyd's affiliation with Pembroke is questionable. Laurie J. Shannon and Marta Straznicky both identify twelve texts in total that constitute the English neo-Senecan school of drama's legacy: the other five are *The Tragicomedy of the Virtuous Octavia* (1598) by Samuel Brandon; and *Dalius*, *Croesus*, *The Alexandrean Tragedy*, and *Julius Caesar*, or the *Monarchicke Tragedies* (1603-1607) by William Alexander. However, it should be noted that this "canon"

> Since the mid-nineteenth century, Mary Sidney has been portrayed as the inept leader of a conspiracy against the popular stage. She and her circle of "shy recluses," as T. S. Eliot called them, were "bound to fail" in their campaign against the native dramatic tradition. They were motivated, we are told, by a noble but rather mindless devotion to her brother's dictates in *A Defence of Poetry*. … The countess's strategy was supposedly to root out the literary barbarism of Shakespeare and others by fostering insipidly correct dramas based on the model of Robert Garnier. (119-120)

Aligned with the critical tradition Hannay describes, Nancy Cotton in 1980 claims that *Mariam* "was never intended for acting," and adds that "Neither the Countess of Pembroke nor Viscountess Falkland wrote their plays for the stage; *Antonius* and *Mariam* were written as closet drama. To write for the stage was déclassé" (37).[15] Betty Travitsky in 1981 asserts that Cary's "writing appeals to the intellect rather than the emotions; *Mariam* was almost certainly intended for reading, rather than for acting, in the tradition of the dramas of the Pembroke group. And it is not actable" (215).[16] Elaine Beilin asserts similarly in 1987 that, "Perhaps influenced by the work of the Countess of Pembroke's coterie, or by her own reading of Seneca, Cary chose to write a classical play, a closet drama never intended for performance" (*Eve* 62).

However, the 1990s saw a trend to reevaluate such dismissals, taking seriously different aspects of Pembroke's and Cary's respect for "the native dramatic tradition."[17] Cary specialists

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was first established by Alexander Witherspoon, whose book *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama* considers only these twelve texts in a project explicitly designed to prove "The Failure of Lady Pembroke's Movement" and "the Failure of Garnier's Influence to produce any Lasting Results in English Drama," to quote the title and sub-title of his concluding chapter (vi). No doubt it is due to Witherspoon that no critics I am aware of have included in their inventories of English plays influenced by Garnier (and/or by Pembroke) the dramatic works of Katherine Philips, although Beilin does note that "The concept of stoicism forms a link between the early closet dramas written by Renaissance noblewomen and Katherine Philips's *Pompey* (1663), the first of her two neo-classical tragedies translated from Pierre Corneille" ("History" 322). Corneille was of course Garnier's literary descendant, and Philips's *Pompey,* although produced with great success for both the court and the commercial theatre, clearly owes its allegiance to the French neo-Senecan tradition. Alexander was close friends with Michael Drayton, an early and abiding fan of Philip Sidney's and Mary Pembroke's work, and he probably knew Pembroke (see Newdigate 95-96). However, I think it is quite possible that the Latin Senecan-style tragedies of Alexander's fellow Scot, George Buchanan, were also an influence on Alexander's decision to attempt the genre. There is little reason for considering Alexander to have been an inner member of Pembroke's "circle."

[15] Cotton does add the comment, however, that *Mariam* "is sensitive to dramatic effectiveness" (32).

[16] It must be noted, however, that it was under Travitsky's aegis that the first documented staging of excerpts from *The Tragedy of Mariam* took place, as part of the first *Attending to Early Modern Women* conference in 1990.

[17] On the other hand, in a 1998 survey, *Early Women Dramatists 1550-1880*, which devotes two chapters to "Performance and Tradition" (Chapter 9, "Contemporary and Modern Performances of the Plays" and

have increasingly (if belatedly) come to align themselves with the position taken in 1983 by Jonas Barish, that, out of all the closet dramas he has looked at, including those by William Alexander, Greville, Samuel Brandon, and Daniel, *Mariam* "in both its plotting and its language ... approximates most closely the plays of the public theatre" (37).[18] Nancy Gutierrez, writing in 1991, challenges the distinction between "writing [that] appeals to the intellect" and writing that is "actable," arguing that an audience can be engaged by an intellectual debate:

> The rhetorical effect of such a structure [*Mariam*'s lack of closure] is to ask for either assent or criticism from an audience that, together with the characters in the play, has observed and formed an opinion about the hero's actions. We might call this kind of closet drama a debate, in which the resolution of the plot is left open-ended, to be made complete by audience response. (246)

Gutierrez's argument in itself is inconclusive; she does not state why such an open-ended debate would appeal more to a theatre audience than to a reader, for instance. (Much fiction could be described in similar terms.) Nevertheless, her argument is important as part of the critical project of recent years to reassess earlier judgements about whether *Antonius* and *Mariam* are either meant to be, or are found to be, "actable."[19] Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, Alison Findlay, and Gweno Williams founded their collaborative project, Women & Dramatic Production, in 1994, because they felt that "in a critical climate" in which "gender, performance, and performativity are very much to the fore, limiting discussion of early modern drama to the public stage seems to be perversely conservative" ("Prologue"), and their project has demonstrated convincingly that *Mariam* at least (they have not attempted a production of *Antonius*) can be successfully staged for a contemporary audience. Alexandra Bennett's article on performativity in *Mariam* (2000) does not discuss staging, but asserts that "Cary's choice of genre is singularly appropriate" (307) to

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Chapter 10, "Towards a Female Tradition in the Theatre"), Margarete Rubik does not even consider the possibility of staging anything written prior to the 1660s for a contemporary audience.

[18] However, Barish does assume that closet drama was committed to "rigorously maintaining its separateness from stage drama" (36), and thus considers *Mariam* "an oddity" (37).

[19] Although Katherine O. Acheson argues in 1998 that both *Antonius* and *Mariam* are characterized by "flatness," "arch-artificiality," and an "untheatricality of … character and action" (1), her approach is original, and she shares with Gutierrez a willingness to debate the question.

this demonstration of "the distinctly performative nature of gendered roles in early modern England" (306).

Today, the fact that Pembroke's and Cary's dramatic texts were not produced on the public stage in their authors' lifetimes is no longer assumed automatically to exclude them from the company of Shakespeare, Middleton, and Marston.[20] The influence of Pembroke's translation on Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* in particular and on the genre of the history play in general is now widely recognized.[21] Similarities have also been noted between *Mariam* and *Othello*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Hamlet*, *Henry VI* , *Richard III*, the anonymous *Arden of Faversham*, and Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, and the list continues to grow; to it this project adds *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*.[22] As a consequence of such "evidence of its influence upon the drama of the public stage, and the influence of the drama of the public stage upon it," critics are now arguing that *Mariam* "needs to be read, not only as addressing concerns particular to women, but as part of the overall development of Renaissance tragedy" (Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, *Drama* 10). Clearly, critics welcome similarities to scripts written for the commercial stage as demonstrating a progressive theatricality. From Travitsky to Hodgson-Wright, discussions typically focus on the amount of action called for by the scripts and the degree of their resistance or amenability to naturalistic presentation. (Gutierrez's suggestion that debate can be dramatic is unusual.) Typically, as well, insofar as a text may be found wanting in either department, this lack is blamed on the author's unfortunate adherence to an anti-theatrical privileging of rhetoric over spectacle that contemporary critics ascribe to academic drama in general and neo-Senecan tragedy in particular. And even as critics of early modern drama by women work to revise our understanding of Pembroke's and Cary's relationship with the public theatre of their day, they generally continue to assume that the boring decorum of Senecan conventions (including *sententiae*, lengthy set speeches, and a preference for narration over action) must constitute a threat to the stageability of a play.

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[20] Richard Levin identifies *Mariam*'s fight scene (2.4) as a source of Middleton's (or Middleton and Rowley's) *A Fair Quarrel*, pointing out that this play's duel "scene evolves in much the same way" as *Mariam*'s (153). R. V. Holdsworth also notes evidence of *Mariam*'s influence on *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (1611, attr. Middleton), and points out that, since Cary's play was not published until 1613, Middleton probably "read it in manuscript" and would thus have been, like John Davies of Hereford, one of the friends of Cary's among whom the manuscript circulated prior to publication (380). Marston's collected plays of 1633 were dedicated to Elizabeth Cary by his publisher William Sheares. Cary's name thus invoked assures "other readers of the good taste and high moral judgment to be found in Marston's plays" (Straznicky, *Privacy* 56). Travitsky points out that Cary's "Doris is of the same stripe as Queen Margaret of Shakespeare's *Henry VI* and *Richard III*" (*Paradise* 213).

[21] See Marvin Spevack's thorough review of the critical history in his 1990 Variorum edition of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

[22] See Weller and Ferguson *re*: *Othello* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, Maureen Quilligan and Rosemary Kegl *re*: *The Taming of the Shrew*, Nancy Gutierrez *re*: *Arden of Faversham*; Alexandra Bennett and Ferguson ("Running on") *re*: *Hamlet*; Christina Luckyj *re*: *The Duchess of Malfi*.

Although not primarily concerned with questions of stageability, Marta Straznicky's recent book, *Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama, 1550-1600* (2004), makes an important intervention in this debate. Here Straznicky analyzes the many "complex intersections" that "the Sidney plays" had "with stage drama, both in their being read by commercial playwrights and in their representation of theatricality" (50).[23] And she argues compellingly that the "significant distinctions in the field of early modern dramatic writing insofar as closet drama is concerned are ... drawn along the lines of moral purpose and rhetorical skill rather than theatricality or privacy" (17). Straznicky's approach, however, is exceptional, for in the field of Cary criticism over the past decade or so, the favoured strategy for legitimizing Cary's play *as* a play has been carefully to distinguish it from Pembroke's, by establishing the latter as true, Senecan, closet drama and the former as one in which the influence of the Sidney-Pembroke circle[24] has thankfully been mitigated by that of the public theatre. Barish does not even bother to consider Pembroke's language: he simply asserts that she translated "one of Garnier's *least* theatrical plays, as though to mark as emphatically as she could her indifference to the stage" (20, original emphasis), and then moves on to the texts that interest him. While acknowledging "some similarities" between *Mariam* and "the Wilton plays," Hodgson-Wright cautions that "the precise extent of Cary's debt to these dramas … is still a matter for critical debate" (28), and she equates evidence of the public stage's influence with evidence of the play's "theatrical elements" (30). Gutierrez's argument on behalf of *Mariam*'s importance depends on its being "surprisingly unlike the four closet dramas" of the Wilton circle.[25] "[T]he play is much more dramatic than its predecessors," she writes, "in the sense that plot and character are served by idea rather than the other way around" (242). And while granting that "Cary's *Mariam* seems indebted in numerous ways to Sidney's and Daniel's dramas about Cleopatra and Antony" (29), Weller and Ferguson emphasize that "The dramatic energy of *Mariam* makes the play seem more consonant with the popular stage than most 'closet dramas' are," and argue for "the influence of Shakespearean dramaturgy on her complex and flexible treatment of soliloquies, particularly those of the title character" (43). In her brief 2003 introduction to *Mariam*, packaged with Shakespeare's *Othello* in a single volume, Clare Carroll says only this on the subject of the dramatic qualities of Cary's text:

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[23] By "the Sidney plays" Straznicky refers to the twelve plays identified by Witherspoon (see Note 14 above), and thus refers to *Antonius* and *Mariam*, among others.

[24] I take Mary Ellen Lamb's point (in "The Myth of the Countess of Pembroke: The Dramatic Circle") that it is questionable whether Pembroke deliberately and formally gathered a "circle" to herself; nevertheless, patterns of affiliation are indisputable.

> … though her work was a closet drama—like Seneca's tragedies, meant to be read rather than performed—it is full of high emotion and dramatic action. *Othello* and *Mariam* have much in common. … With its unique blend of popular Shakespearian and learned Senecan tragic style, *Mariam* is an important contribution to the history of English drama. (138-39)

Yet as H. B. Charlton, Lorraine Helms, and others remind us, this blend was far from unique, and was, in fact, characteristic of the dramatic texts of "popular" writers of the period. Shakespeare's style is itself a blend, incorporating many Senecan elements.[26]

Furthermore, as Straznicky notes, such commercial authors as Webster and Jonson claimed for their work the same literary qualities associated with "the predominant closet drama tradition of the early modern period, stemming from the Greek and Roman classics and including academic translations, plays of moral or religious instruction, and the topical political drama written by the Sidney circle" (12). Observing that this strategy allowed "the commercial playwright aspiring to literary status" to invoke "the tradition of scholarly playreading" in order "to constitute a 'private' realm, in the sense of an exclusive, educated minority" (12), Straznicky concludes that "Making, and also marketing, a text for private reading is therefore a way of specifying rather than renouncing its position within the public sphere" (53).[27] Influence, imitation, aspiration, and affiliation continually crossed and reconfigured boundaries, from all sides.

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[25] These are Pembroke's *Antonius*, Daniel's *Cleopatra* and *Philotas*, and Fulke-Greville's *Mustapha*.

[26] See Charlton, 153-86, for a review of the "Evolution of the English [Senecan] Tradition."

In making these observations it is not my goal to dispute either the influence of Shakespeare on Cary's work or the quality of her writing. I do wish to caution against the practice of ascribing to the Senecan tradition everything which Cary may be praised for at least partially resisting, and to note how entrenched this practice has become. For instance, Weller and Ferguson insist that

> … Mariam's soliloquies (and, to some extent, even those of Salome and Herod) go beyond the expository function they seem to serve in most earlier neoclassical drama; they represent the speaker's process of thought, her reflective and by no means static exploration of her own situation. In the opening soliloquy, her apostrophes virtually populate the stage with the absent figures of domestic and political history. (43)

It seems to me, however, that this description of Cary's soliloquies applies equally well to Pembroke's. Aggravating as Antony's opening soliloquy may be, his repetitious, self-indulgent rant, bordering on hysteria, refuses to allow us to read it as the exposition provided by a static—*i.e.* stable—character. There is nothing in the Senecan tradition that I am aware of to prohibit or even discourage such dynamic monologues. Indeed, the emphasis on stoicism in neo-Senecan tragedies quite requires reflection, self-examination, and character development, and as Witherspoon comments, Garnier "is interested chiefly in the reaction of a person's mind to the tragic circumstances in which he finds himself involved" (12).[28] Hannay *et al* do point out that

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[27] Straznicky notes, for instance, that in his preface to "*The White Divel*, published in 1612 following a dismal reception," Webster invokes Senecan conventions to criticize the Red Bull audience for their ignorance of "the literary conventions," arguing that "dramatic poems are to be 'sententious,' 'observing all the crtticall lawes, as heighth of stile; and gravety of person,' and 'inrich[ed] with a 'sententious Chorus and 'the passionate and waighty Nuntius'" (Straznicky 11-12).

[28] See Straznicky's discussion of this aspect of the neo-Senecan tragedy ("Stoical").

"The revival of these classical models" is just what "helped to move the English stage from an emphasis on action toward an emphasis on character," reminding us that "Shakespeare notably combined the renewed interest in soliloquy, so evident in *Antonius*, with action" (*Works* 141). Yet although such contemporary feminist performance theorists as Judith Butler stress the body's existence in and construction by language, discussions of early modern closet drama by women still often tend to assume a Cartesian binary between rhetoric that appeals only to the mind (via the ear) and dramatic bodily action that appeals to the emotions (via the eye). Senecan decorum is consequently assumed to be incompatible with convincing characterization.[29]

Pembroke scholarship's move to rehabilitate *Antonius* as making "an important contribution to the history of English drama" has taken a very different approach from Cary scholarship; its thrust has been to validate the subject matter of early modern neo-Senecan closet drama as progressive, even though Pembroke scholars are largely united with Cary scholars in regarding Senecan style as essentially unstageable.[30] Unlike most of her predecessors, Hannay defends neo-Senecan tragedy as politically relevant and artistically progressive, crediting Pembroke with sparking the movement to write history plays on and off the commercial stage:

> By translating Robert Garnier's *Marc Antoine* and sponsoring Samuel Daniel's continuation in *Cleopatra*, the countess helped to naturalize Continental historical

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[29] As Stephen Orgel reminds us, "Modern theatrical historians frequently confuse the issue by treating the verbal and the spectacular as antithetical kinds of theater. … This is an attractive thesis largely because our own sense of theater is so intensely visual" (17). Nevertheless, "The distinction … between 'verbal' theaters and 'visual theaters' in this period is a false one. Both the Globe and the court theater were spectacular, both were highly rhetorical; the visual and the verbal emphases in no way excluded each other. In fact, if we look at plays that were specifically written to be produced with scenes and machines, we shall find them far more elaborately rhetorical than plays for the public stage" (19).

[30] Writing in 1998, Gweno Williams includes *Antonius* among the dramatic texts by early modern women concerning which she makes the following provocative assertion: "a careful, attentive and unprejudiced reading of these texts as performable rather than unperformable reveals considerable exciting evidence in the form of internal stage directions, detailed and precise references to contemporary theatre practices, metatheatrical devices and references, calls for integral stage action, sometimes without supporting dialogue, a frequent emphasis on physicality and on visual effects and specific references to the presence of an audience, particularly in calls for applause" (99). However, "In order to illustrate and support the above points," she proceeds to "devote the remainder of this essay to a case study of the play which comprised my individual contribution to the Women and Dramatic Production project: *The Convent of Pleasure* (1668) by Margaret Cavendish" (100). She thus offers no evidence from *Antonius* to support her assertion, and as I note elsewhere the Women and Dramatic Production project has not yet to my knowledge attempted a production of Pembroke's play.

> tragedy in England. A dozen works followed the closet drama form of Garnier, but far more significant was the use of historical drama as a privileged genre for political content, the use of "times past" to comment on current affairs. (*Phoenix* 119)

S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies in 1995 point to *Antonius*'s popularity as evidence of its influence, suggesting rather sensibly that "it is difficult to interpret *Antonie* as a failure when it went through five editions in fifteen years," and arguing that Pembroke "should be acknowledged as one of the earliest contributors to politicized historical drama" (*Drama* 16). Karen L. Raber, also in 1995, characterizes closet drama as "dedicated to advice and public influence" (325), and Diane Purkiss (1994) makes a strong argument for interpreting the writing of a Senecan tragedy as an act of courageous involvement, rather than cowardly withdrawal, from political (if not artistic) life:

> Senecan "private" drama could be much more dangerously "public" or political than plays for the public stage, because it did not have to pass the scrutiny of the Revels office. Both *Antonie* and *Mariam* are more explicitly engaged with questions of good rule and resistance to tyranny than most historical dramas produced on the public stage …. (xviii)

A similar understanding of the "instructional and polemical aims of these closet dramas and the overt politicization of playreading associated with them" is foundational to Straznicky's argument for reading early modern closet drama as part of "a larger cultural matrix in which closed spaces, select interpretive communities, and political dissent are aligned" (14, 4). Nevertheless, as Straznicky also notes, "recognizing the political content of women's closet plays has led to a disparagement of the very intellectual traditions—'mere' academic writing and playreading—that fostered these plays to begin with" (3). Furthermore, this recognition has, in my view, led to a disparagement of the performance traditions that fostered these same plays.

For instance, notwithstanding Hannay's own, influential, project of rehabilitating Pembroke's Senecan affinities as respectable and valuable, she insists that such drama as Pembroke's *Antonius* "was eminently suitable for reading aloud on an evening at Wilton, when no professional entertainment was available. … A stageable drama would have taxed the resources of the Wilton household" (120). Hannay's stand is the same in 1998, when despite making the very important point that Garnier's "*Marc Antoine* was successfully acted in France," she and her co-editors dismiss the relevance of this history by asserting that "the staging was probably analogous to the presentation of classical drama at the universities, without sets or costumes" (*Works* 141). This all sounds very reasonable, but it is hard at the best of times to be certain of all the possible ways in which an author may imagine her work coming before a public, and it is most hard to be certain that she set out to write an unstageable drama, if we believe that she chose to translate a work by an author with a proven record of successful stagings.[31] In any case, whatever the practice may have been in France, Hannay's characterization of the typical university drama simply does not apply to those produced at Oxbridge or the Inns of Court in the sixteenth century. As Joan Rees points out, *Gorboduc* was not without "the purely native ingredient ..., the dumb-shows which derived from the allegorical tableaux or 'stands' which were a feature of pageants and masques" (*Sidney* 46). Furthermore, as I discuss below, the academic drama drew heavily on the Italian neo-Senecan tradition that, unlike the French, mingled stoic philosophy and heightened language with much spectacle—and much violence. This is the same tradition that led to Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (*c.* 1585).

Since neither the vernacular nor the spectacular were anathema to practitioners of English neo-Senecan drama, determining the values of the Sidney-Pembroke circle proves to be far more complicated than drawing a line between the talking heads of academia on the one hand and the embodied vernacular of a more popular and populist stage on the other. Without going so far as to suggest that Pembroke may have had a stage in mind, some critics do praise Pembroke's translation for its improvement on Garnier's style, and suggest that, however Philip Sidney's thoughts may or may not have changed after he penned the *Defense*, his sister did not feel herself slavishly bound to the precepts of neo-classicism. Hannay *et al* comment that "Pembroke chose to render the drama in blank verse, demonstrating the power and flexibility of the form for drama in the same year as Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* was printed" (*Works* 147). Cerasano and Wynne-Davies see Pembroke's choice as as a political move:

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[31] See Eve Rachele Sanders's thorough review of the staging of neo-Senecan tragedies, including Garnier's, in France. She reports that "An earlier neo-Senecan Cleopatra play, Etienne Jodelle's *Cléopâtre captive*, took the French cultural establishment by storm when it was performed, famed actors in the lead roles, first before the King at court and again at the Collège de Boncourt in 1553," and further points out that "The reportory for 1594 of a French acting company listing twelve plays, half of which were tragedies, includes three by Garnier: *Les Juives*, *La Troade*, and *Hippolyte*" (129).

> … one of the ways in which Mary Sidney's independent artistry exercised itself was in her rejection of the classical convention praised by her brother, as for example, when she rejected Garnier's original alexandrines in favour of the more contemporary and particularly English form of blank verse. This alteration allowed for more naturalistic dialogue and, consequently, permitted her to strengthen the characterization with powerful and moving speeches. ... Stylistically, therefore, the Countess was clearly determined to undermine the traditional neo-Senecan language with the more contemporary blank verse. (*Drama* 16-17)[32]

Evidently, we do not have to wait for Cary if we wish to find an early modern woman writer adapting the received model to make it yet more "actable" for the English than those of her predecessors and her male contemporaries. I do not, however, agree that naturalistic dialogue and unsympathetic stereotypes are a playwright's only two options, any more than I agree that the universities in general, or Philip Sidney in particular, for all their genuine hostility to the commercial theatres, were entirely hostile to any and all lively theatrics. The communities Pembroke's coterie was modelled on were those of Elizabeth's court and Oxbridge: both communities where spectacular theatrical productions were regularly produced and highly valued events. Furthermore, both commercial theatre and court masque profited from the training young scholars received at Oxbridge and the Inns of Court: training that valorized rhetorical proficiency as well as action and spectacle—both at once.[33]

For although Pembroke and Cary specialists tend to characterize neo-Senecan drama as rhetorical rather than dramatic, the binary is highly problematic. In Orgel's view, historians of

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[32] See also Lamb, "The Countess of Pembroke and the Art of Dying," 213-20, and *Gender and Authorship*, pp. 130-2.

[33] Straznicky finds an association "between domestic playreading and the courtly or academic stage, with all three venues belonging to an elite private culture. In other words, the material condition of reading is not the definitive factor when a Play either claims or refutes the label 'private,' just as the material condition of playgoing is incidental, if not flatly contradictory, to the connotation of 'private' in theatrical discourse." (10-11)

English theatre often make "court theaters, with their movable settings and marvelous machines, … the culprits that destroyed the golden age of Shakespearean drama by creating and catering to a vulgar taste for shows. Theater thus became a visual medium, and the era of poetic drama was ended" (*Illusion* 17). Ironically, however, students of the school of Witherspoon tend to cite a supposed lack of spectacle as evidence that academic drama hardly deserves the name. Consequently, a defender such as Hodgson-Wright looks to those same maligned courtly settings and machines to correct the earlier critical "mistake of considering 'performance' per se to be synonymous with performance in the public theatre" ("Introduction" 29). In support of this argument she points out that "when Cary was writing, the aristocracy was experiencing the apotheosis of that most theatrically self-conscious form of entertainment: the court masque" which "staged dramatic fictions on a lavish scale. The public theatre was not the only playing space in Renaissance England" ("Introduction" 29-30). This is true enough, as far as it goes, and is certainly important. We may also recall that Cary's husband Henry Cary was a featured performer in an early Stuart masque, produced for the wedding of Lord Hay's daughter, shortly after Cary wrote *Mariam*.[34] Ultimately Hodgson-Wright's spectacle-loving and artistically adventurous aristocracy cannot be distinguished from that other pusillanimous aristocracy hiding out at Wilton. Daniel, who wrote some of those court masques, also authored two of the Pembroke-Sidney circle closet dramas that Hodgson-Wright, like other Cary critics, dismisses elsewhere as sadly undramatic. And one of Daniel's neo-Senecan tragedies, *Philotas*, was performed at Blackfriars.

Daniel is, furthermore, a university man. Another one of Pembroke's most assiduous "servants," Abraham Fraunce, played Ferdinandus in *Hymenaeus*, a Latin comedy which Fraunce may also have written, performed at St. John's College, Cambridge, "probably in March 1578/9" (Boas 134-35). Fraunce is definitely the author of the Latin *Victoria*, "written about the same time, and possibly acted in the same year as *Hymenaeus* at St. John's" on a stage with a purpose-built set consisting of four houses (Boas 135, n.2). The intricate plot of *Victoria* contains several episodes that fans of Shakespeare's comedies will recognize as highly stageworthy,[35] and its performance required a relatively elaborate setting, featuring not only the four "houses" also required by *Hymenaeus*, but a tomb as well. That Fraunce's youthful endeavours were not despised by the Wilton set is evidenced by the fact that *Victoria* is today "preserved in a single autograph manuscript at Penshurst, which begins with some dedicatory verses to Sidney" (Boas 135, n. 2). Frederick S. Boas points out the centrality of theatrical performance in both Fraunce's and Philip Sidney's academic background:

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[34] *Lord Hay's Masque*, written by Thomas Campion and possibly designed by Inigo Jones, was produced on January 6, 1606/7 (Orgel and Strong 115).

> Fraunce had come to St. John's from Shrewsbury School, where it was the custom for the senior boys once a week to 'declame and plaie one act of a comedie', and where the first head master, Thomas Ashton, both wrote plays and performed them. Philip Sidney had almost certainly been his elder contemporary at Shrewsbury, and it was at Sidney's expense that he was sent to Cambridge. (140)

And Fraunce's translation into English of Tasso's pastoral comedy *Aminta* was published in 1591. He must have been writing it during the same time period in which Pembroke was readying *Antonius* (which she completed in 1590) for its first publication in 1592. William Gager, another man who designed lively entertainments for the university stage, dedicated his *Ulysses Redux* (1592) to Pembroke herself. That Pembroke did not share the universities' rejection of English as a suitable medium is obvious; that she did share the universities' embrace of the Senecan tradition is equally obvious; that she may have shared an appreciation of elaborately staged live theatre with not only the court but also the colleges is less obvious, but deserves to be seriously considered.

Nevertheless, I must acknowledge that the traditional distinction I am challenging here, between the staid exercise of rhetoric on the one hand and the drama of action and spectacle on the other, does have an authoritative source in the self-representations of men writing for the stage in early modern England. Thomas Heywood's assertion that university drama was only put on for the purpose of training intelligent young men in rhetoric is well known:

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[35] For instance, according to Boas's summary, Fraunce's "Cornelio will not be convinced of his wife's infidelity without ocular proof. Fedele therefore arranges for his servant Narcisso, who is making love to one of Vittoria's maides, Attilia, to be seen by Cornelio leaving her house in disguise, and crying out 'Vittoria'" (141).

> In the time of my residence in *Cambridge*, I have seen Tragedyes, Comedyes, Historyes, Pastorals, and Shewes, publickly acted, in which Graduates of good place and reputation, have been specially parted: this is held necessary for the emboldening of their *Junior* schollers, to arme them with audacity, against they come to bee imployed in any publicke exercise .... It teacheth audacity to the bashfull Grammarian, ... and makes him a bold Sophister, to argue *pro et contra* .... (*An Apology for Actors*, C3v)

Before we take Heywood at his word, however, we should recall that he was defending his profession in the context of some fierce anti-theatrical attacks by Phillip Stubbes and John Rainolds.[36] What Heywood wanted his readers to think, and what really went on at the universities and the Inns of Court during, for instance, Twelfth Night celebrations, are two very different things.[37] Consider the hastily assembled production at Oxford of William Gager's Latin tragedy, *Dido* (1583), a play which Pembroke must have heard of, for it was much discussed, described by Holinshed, and witnessed by both Philip Sidney and his uncle the Earl of Leicester, some year or two after Sidney wrote his *Defense*.[38] According to Boas, Gager's scripts contain "unusually detailed" stage directions, and are "of exceptional authority on the arrangements of the academic theatre in the later sixteenth century" (167). This play "was elaborately staged, with 'strange, marvellous, and abundant' scenic effects" (183). It included "'a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds,'" and yes, "the hounds were on the stage" (182 n. 2). This exciting scene was followed abruptly by the appearance of "the Ghost of Sychaeus, who is introduced in Senecan fashion to foretell disaster to his former spouse if she marries one of the perfidious race of Troy” (Boas 186). The lovers are then brought together by a “‘*Tempestas*,’ … represented before the audience, and Holinshed adds the interesting details that in 1583 ‘it hailed small confects, rained rosewater, and snew an artificiall kind of snow’” (187).[39] The performance also involved “a procession of masquers” (Sutton 287), “celestial descents of Mercury and Iris …, which must have used some sort of *deus ex machina* device” (Sutton 244), and, probably, “instrumental music” (Sutton 244). Furthermore, at the close of *Dido*, the queen “stabs herself on the pyre in view of the audience,” a “departure from the traditional convention” probably “due to the desire for an effective spectacular close” (Boas 189).

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[36] Rainolds's *Th'Overthrow of Stage-Playes* (1600) included university dramatists such as William Gager with playwrights for the public stage in the same category.

[37] See Arlidge and Charlton.

[38] Although one of the best university playwrights of the day, Gager was by no means a freak. His counterpart at Cambridge, Thomas Legge, also wrote works featuring "intense verve and energy, considerable gifts for characterization, a genuine sense of theater and of what can and should be done on the stage (the number and detail of Legge's stage directions are astonishing), and a willingness to cater to popular taste by importing elements from the vernacular theater, by providing plenty of visual spectacle, and by appealing to patriotic sentiment" (Sutton x).

Nor is Dido’s on-stage death scene as much of a “departure” as Boas suggests, for Seneca himself frequently includes scenes of violence in his plays, a practice which his Italian and English imitators follow with enthusiasm. In Seneca’s lurid *Oedipus*, for instance, Jocasta debates at length whether to stab herself with a sword in the “brest,” “throte,” or (her eventual choice) womb, and then proceeds to do so on stage.[40] There is nothing like this in Sophocles’s *Oedipus*

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[39] Dana F. Sutton suggests that these “confects” most probably were “confetti employed to represent snowflakes,” although they may have been “sweetmeats being tossed out into the audience, in the manner of an Aristophanic comedy” (355). On the side of the sweetmeats is the fact that the OED gives only one definition for “confect”: “A sweetmeat made of fruit, seed, etc., preserved in sugar; a comfit.” Furthermore, the OED defines “confetti” (from the “Italian *confetti*, pl. of *confetto* COMFIT [OED]), as “Bon-bons, or plaster or paper imitations of these, thrown during carnival in Italy; in U.K., U.S., etc. esp. little discs, etc., of coloured paper.” The earliest recorded use of the word “confetti” in English dates only from 1815, and even then the word referred not to paper discs but to “little balls, the size of a small marble, made of some soft white plaister” (OED).

[40] Here is Alexander Nevyle’s 1563 translation of the scene:

> Shall I quight through my brest
> or through my throte it thrust?
> Canst y$^u$ not choose thy wound? Away
> dye dye, alas thou must.
> This brest. This wombe. Than wound
> this, this, with thyne own hand.
> Strike, perce, and spare it not:
> whiche both a Husband: and
> (The same a Son dyd beare. (5.2)

The Chorus may be compensating for the absence of special effects, or calling for them, depending on how one interprets its comments which follow the preceding lines:

> Alas alas, she is slayne, she is slayne,
> dispatched with a push:
> Who euer sawe the lyke to this:
> Se how the blud doth gush .... (5.2)

*Rex*, in which Jocasta hangs herself off stage. In some cases, we cannot be sure whether or not Seneca intended the violence actually to be performed: F. L. Lucas notes, for instance, that "Hercules' murder of his children, if not actually imagined as taking place on the stage, is described, as it happens, by one who sees it from the stage" (57). Indeed, we cannot be sure whether any of Seneca's plays were staged (they may just have been recited). However, "the Renaissance thought so and acted them" (Lucas 56). In fact:

> ... the academic playwrights of the Universities, taking for granted that Seneca had been staged and acted in Rome, staged and acted even worse than Senecan horrors at Oxford and Cambridge. In 1592 Alabaster's *Roxana* was performed at Trinity College, Cambridge, a typical Senecan imitation, which ends in a cannibal orgy of revenge so ghastly, that a gentlewoman in the audience "fell distracted and never recovered." (Lucas 58 [source of quotation not provided])

Gager was simply giving his audiences what they were used to.

During Elizabeth's reign, it became common practice for Oxford and Cambridge to borrow costumes from the Office of the Revels for their productions;[41] the colleges made good use of their close ties with the spectacle-loving court. Yet it is this same Gager, author of *Dido*, who wrote in 1592 that the purpose of university scholars' learning to act is "to try their voices and confirm their memories; to frame their speech; to conform them to convenient action" (qtd in Styan 89-90). J. L. Styan glosses "convenient action" as "suitable behaviour" (90); there is very little in Gager's agenda as stated here that advertises the enthusiasm for dramatic action, spectacle, and social relevance characteristic of the actual productions put on by these groups of energetic and ambitious boys and young men.[42] This practice—not the *apologia* for it offered to

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Lucas notes another scene by Seneca in which "the dismembered pieces of the body of Hippolytus are brought on and fitted together, jigsaw-like, by his father, who complains ... of the difficulty of knowing which is which" (57).

[41] Boas points out that, prior to "the accession of a queen with a hereditary passion for theatrical entertainments" colleges had generally borne the expenses of dramatic productions themselves, but "Though the Colleges had spent money freely upon their private entertainments, they would have found it impossible from their own resources to vie with the splendour of the spectacular productions at the Court. But in their preparations the academic authorities had the help of the Offices of the Revels and the Works" (89). Nevertheless, cooperation between the "University stage and the Revels Office" dates back to the reign of Mary Tudor (189 n. 1).

[42] Sutton's remarks on this point are work quoting: "The performance of classical plays and also of original works, mostly in Latin, was favored by Humanistic educators, and plays could be employed as vehicles for

non-aristocratic critics—is one of the traditions that in my view both Pembroke and Cary honour in their work.

## 2. The performance of decorum

> Popular revolt, and perhaps popular culture generally, was the theater's dark other, the vestigial egalitarian self that had to be exorcised before a more gentrified, artful, and discriminating identity could emerge.
> – Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p. 212

Many related, but distinctly different, terms can get confused one with another in the sort of discussions I have briefly reviewed above. Theatricality, drama, and stageability are often equated one with another; each is sometimes associated with action, sometimes with naturalistic dialogue; sometimes with complex characterization, sometimes with spectacle. Although it seems that some contemporary critics of Pembroke's and Cary's dramatic works lack accurate information about neo-classical drama in general and English academic drama in particular, significant problems also result from current assumptions about theatre in general and the tragic genre in particular. For one thing, the sort of spectacles inscribed in such texts as Gager's *Dido* and Pembroke's *Antonius* may be difficult for the contemporary reader to imagine viewing; this is a point I shall take up in detail in the following section of this introduction, and in my first chapter. But there is another related problem which may be mentioned here, and that is our privileging of naturalistic drama. As we have seen, early modern closet drama is no longer assumed to announce itself as isolationist and anti-theatrical; instead, it is recognized as politically engaged and infused with a theatrical sensibility. Furthermore, "the 'closet' designation for early modern women's plays" is now widely recognized as being "not only anachronistic but erroneous in that it implicitly disparages non-commercial performance contexts

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salubrious moral lessons. But something else was equally, although perhaps less officially, at stake. The Tudor educational curriculum was undeniably dreary and still somewhat medieval in contents and method. Especially as both students and faculty tended to be appreciably younger than their modern equivalents, schools and Universities were largely populated by young men who had few legitimate outlets for high spirits, and few opportunities for wholesome recreation or entertainment. The production of plays was one sanctioned such opportunity, and had the added advantage that the plays could suit institutional purposes, for example by serving as entertainment on important occasions" (ix).

(such as reading aloud, household drama, or academic production) to which the supposedly 'closet' plays can be successfully accommodated" (Straznicky, *Privacy* 2). Much more work, however, remains to be done concerning the pleasures and perils of performativity that closet drama offered to its early modern readers during—and in large part because of—such "non-commercial performance contexts." In order to gather together and read a script aloud, early modern readers of closet drama could expect to find themselves speaking to one another under assumed names and, further, doing so as members of genders to which they were not normally assigned. Thus, for a group of people to undertake the reading of a closet drama in early modern England was for its members to accept the possibility of engaging in outrageous acts of gender-bending self-fashioning, and to choose to enter a space in which the boundaries between actor and auditor were hopelessly blurred. They were hardly engaged in producing naturalistic drama.

It is a little ironic, then, that critics and practioners who praise the performance qualities of *Antonius* or (far more frequently) of *Mariam* tend to valorize the features most easily recognizable to contemporary eyes as being acceptable to a contemporary paying theatre-going public. One of the earliest and strongest advocates for reading *Mariam* as a dramatic text is Hodgson-Wright, who emphasizes that the script is "peopled by well-drawn characters" of "psychological complexity" (30), and that it offers plenty of action: "in *The Tragedy of Mariam*, only the executions occur offstage. All other action is performed onstage, including the sword fight between Constabarus and Silleus and the presentation of the 'poison' cup to Herod" (29). One cannot argue with Hodgson-Wright's claim that "Dismissing the play's status as a performance text has become increasingly difficult in the light of practical investigations into the play's performability" ("Introduction" 30-31), including productions of *Mariam* directed by herself and by Elizabeth Schafer.[43] And such pragmatic experiments have made an immense contribution to the study of early modern drama by women. Furthermore, some of the most interesting decisions that Schafer and Hodgson-Wright made in their productions involved non-naturalistic stagings, especially of the Chorus.[44] However, while these pioneering productions have made it impossible to continue dismissing these dramatic texts' generic claims, discussions of *Mariam*'s non-realistic elements suffer from being either inadequately contextualized historically, as we have seen, or undertheorized. The problem is not just that, as Lisa Hopkins points out, "the fact that performances have been mounted proves nothing about original intentions" (11.2). The larger problem, as I see it, is two-fold: scholars of Pembroke's and Cary's work tend to assume that Senecan tragedy is anti-theatrical, as we have seen; and they also assume that good tragedy must be naturalistic.

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[43] Two short excerpts from *The Tragedy of Mariam* were included in "Attending to Renaissance Women," a script by Catherine Schuler and Sharon Ammen that was staged in 1990 with an all-female cast at the first Attending to Women in Early Modern England Conference in 1990. "The play proper was given its premiere by Tinderbox Theatre Co. at the Alhambra Studio" in 1994, directed by Hodgson-Wright. "A

Thus the very fact that *Antonius* and *Mariam* announce themselves as tragedies makes it difficult to recognize their unconventional theatricality, even as it helps greatly to qualify them for inclusion in the canon. They may have been rejected, but at least they are considered, far more often than is, for instance, Lady Mary Wroth's brilliant pastoral tragi-comedy, *Love's Victory* (*c.* 1622). Yet as Jill Dolan argues in *The Feminist Spectator as Critic*, claiming literary status for dramatic works by women authors is a tricky business, since drama by women is seldom accepted into the canon unless it does "not substantially threaten the canon's dramatic or ideological values" (20). To be eligible, "a play must conform to the rule of universality by transcending the

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second production, directed by Elizabeth Schafer and performed by students at Royal Holloway, took place in November 1995. In this production, all the parts were taken by women, with the exception of Antipater, who was played by a small boy. This was a thought-provoking decision, recreating the possible conditions of a private performance in the early seventeenth century" (Hodgson-Wright 30-31). As Garrett PJ Epp has pointed out, given the academic tradition with which *Mariam* is aligned, an all-male cast would also recreate the possible conditions of a private performance in the early seventeenth century (Discussion, with Epp and members of his English 693 class, February, 2002).

[44] While giving a realistic treatment to the characters, Hodgson-Wright handled the Chorus in a highly effective non-realistic way, despite giving them tasks on set that "gave them a reason to be there." Using strategies reminiscent of Brecht's epic theatre, Hodgson-Wright put the two actors in whiteface and had them sing some of the choruses. (A generous selection of extracts from the production are available on the video *Women Dramatists 1550-1670: Plays in Performance (1)*, along with commentary by the director.) In Schafer's production, "The Chorus was presented as Elizabeth Cary herself, positioned in front of a portrait which represented the masculine authority of her husband" (Hodgson-Wright, *Mariam* 31).

historical moment and speaking to a generic spectator" (20), and a play is most likely to be approved as conforming "to the rule of universality" if it is, like Marsha Norman's *'night Mother* (1983), a tragedy constructed along recognizably Aristotelian lines (21). Dolan's analysis of the way theatre critics became increasingly unwilling or unable to recognize the importance of class and gender issues in Norman's play as they became increasingly willing to acknowledge its artistic excellence is an important cautionary tale.[45] What rules of decorum may *we* be imposing on early modern women dramatists? To what oppressive effects of such conventions may we ourselves be blind? A critical awareness of what point of view performs, and of gender as performance, is something naturalistic dramas are rather designed to discourage.[46]

Paradoxically, then, the assumption that anything *not* recognizable as good, naturalistic, action-packed spectacle cannot be praised also means that any potential for the kind of performance valued by such avant-garde contemporary theorists and practitioners as Bertold Brecht, Dolan, Sue-Ellen Case, Elin Diamond, and Heather Inglis cannot be recognized. But, as we have seen, the performance inscribed in any early modern text designated as a closet drama problematizes identity, and I would argue that the parts of *Antonius* and *Mariam* that are the least amenable to naturalistic theatrical productions may well constitute some of the best evidence that Pembroke and Cary deserve to be included among the adventurous aristocrats writing in their day. As Diamond points out, in her important work applying both the theories of Brecht and Benjamin to feminist performance theory, theatre has great potential to subvert the injurious performance of women's weakness by shattering the illusion of inevitability that attends so many performances of masculine power. However, Diamond's gestic feminist approach to early modern dramatic texts (notably the plays of Aphra Behn) is exceptional, and no sustained effort has yet been made to apply her particular approach to these dramatic texts from an earlier period than Behn's.[47] It is with the observation that our only two choices are not anti-theatrical decorum and nicely exciting naturalism that I set out to re-evaluate Pembroke's and Cary's closet dramas.

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[45] Dolan also argues that "Norman was striving for a reception of her play that would validate its aim toward universal meanings and transcendence, and that would inch it toward acceptance into the male realm of historiclly lasting drama" (25).

[46] It appears that this need to read universality in dramas one admires may have influenced Acheson, for she praises "the critique of performativity" in *Antonius* and *Mariam* as being "profound and broad; it is not limited, that is, to women in particular historical conditions, but pertain to the authors' understanding of all the performers on the stage of the world, and can provide critical knowledge of similar breadth" (2). Acheson's observation that both women and men, in *Antonius* and *Mariam*, struggle to cope with finding themselves both spectacle and spectator, occupying (at least) one point of view while entertaining and returning the gaze of others, is an important one, and much of this project is concerned with analyzing their strategies for doing so. Such praise, however, denies distinction between women's and men's strategies, and denies the importance of "particular historical conditions" to the development of those strategies.

Although *Antonius* and *Mariam* do indeed contain more action than they have often been given credit for, as well as strong characterization and lively, flexible prose, *Mariam* is no different from *Antonius* in that both plays feature significant obstacles to naturalistic presentation and opportunities for the adventurous director. In their ground-breaking 1990 production of "Attending to Renaissance Women," which included excerpts from *Mariam* as well as material drawn from a number of different genres, Catherine Schuler and Sharon Ammen "attempted to practice Brechtian historicization" using a number of effective strategies for defamiliarization (344).[48] It was they, not the women authors whose work they explored, who wrote the script, a dramatic text intended to suit such a practice. (And it does!) What remains to be done is to examine, and to theorize, in a sustained fashion, how such an attempt, informed by contemporary theory and practice, may suit either *Mariam* or *Antonius* as entire scripts, texts both composed and constructed by early modern women dramatists. This project is in part a call, and a commitment, to begin.

Accordingly, of particular interest to this project are the scenes in both plays that feature lengthy conversations about events that are crucial to the action of the play, namely the very public performance of queens approaching their deaths. Neither of these key events is scripted to be performed for the audience of the play itself, as we have seen, and it is part of the burden of this project to answer the question of why both Pembroke and Cary should choose to keep both women's spectacular martyrdoms so resolutely off stage. Such dramatic restraint cannot be ascribed solely to academic inhibitions. If Cary defies decorum in offering prospective audiences the swordfight between Salome's husband Constabarus and lover Silleus, then French neo-Senecan convention alone cannot account for the fact that the "triumph" of Mariam's progress towards martyrdom is the only key episode not scripted for the stage (5.1.46).[49] Nor can we ascribe Pembroke's and Cary's choice in the matter either to iconoclasm or pious modesty. If we recall Pembroke's spectacular entry into London in November, 1588, "[s]urrounded by servants dressed in the Sidney blue and gold" (Hannay, *Phoenix* 59), then Katherine O. Acheson's suggestion that Pembroke had an anti-Catholic aversion to "ostentation and display" fails to persuade (7.3). Cary's own attitude towards putting herself forward was far from uncomplicated, as recent critics and biographers have so convincingly demonstrated.[50] So the exclusion of these key episodes from the action of the plays is puzzling, and it is a puzzle that both scripts challenge us to solve. While enjoying his own triumphant march into Alexandria, Caesar makes plans to subject captive Cleopatra to a vicious parody of a queen's progress. Indeed, his chief desire, he says, is "That by hir presence beautified may be / The glorious triumph Rome prepares for me" (1727-28). Word alone of her last, self-scripted, public appearance—her anti-triumph, one might say—ends Caesar's fantasy and literally stops him in his tracks. Suddenly uncertain, he sends another on ahead to negotiate while he waits. In Cary's play, similarly, we find that despite the concern Mariam and numerous other characters have raised over the queen's too-ready speech, Mariam makes glorious use of the opportunity to raise her voice in public during her final (off-stage) appearance. Her last words win admiration and loyalty from the Nuntio, and send by him a message that paralyzes Herod with remorse.

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[47] According to Diamond, the gestic moment occurs whenever "the Brechtian-feminist performer 'alienates' her/his own gendered, racial, or ethnic history, when that body is 'historicized,' [and when] spectators are invited to move through and beyond imaginary identifications, to rethink their own differences and contradictions" (*Mimesis* xiv). Considered in these terms, it seems to me that closet drama as originally practised is inherently gestic—scenes as well as Chorus. Bennett briefly invokes Diamond in her assertion that the opening lines of *Mariam* constitute a "'Gestus: a gesture, a word, an action, a tableau by which, separately or in a series, the social attitudes encoded in the playtext become visible to the spectator'" (297).

[48] For instance, they "interspersed with the women's texts taped material written by men and performed by male actors," and "The performance was a combination of oral interpretation and reader's theatre done with a cast of seven" wearing "simple and contemporary" costumes (344).

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[49] The executions of Constabarus and the sons of Babas are likewise kept off stage, but the three men's last journey, unlike Mariam's, is scripted. The headnote to act 4 scene 6 calls for "Constabarus, Babas' sons, and their guard." The dialogue is full of deictics and embedded stage directions emphasizing the men's physical movement: "Now here we step our last, the way to death; / We must not tread this way a second time," says Constabarus, to open the scene (4.6.1-2). Babas' Second Son, whose speech closes the scene, invites his companions, "Come, let us to our death" (4.6.351). The fact that the guard says nothing but that Cary specifies his presence reinforces the ceremonial formality of the episode.

[50] Kegl also makes the good point that there must have been entertainments got up at Burford during the queen's two-day visit to Cary's parents in 1599 (140).

Both Cleopatra and Mariam transform defeat into martyrdom; both make final appearances that have a marked effect upon those who see them; and the narration of these appearances, over which the women exercise considerable control, has tremendous power over the imaginations of those who ordered the women's capture or death. As Straznicky points out, "Mariam emerges as a powerful figure" in act 5 of *Mariam*, and Cleopatra does the same in act 4 of *Antonius*. But I only partially agree with Straznicky's explanation that "Mariam's execution is a public spectacle, a form of death that makes available to her the terms of a masculine discourse of honour and glory" ("Stoical" 130). Rather, I would argue that Mariam's access to this very discourse, and the consequent "victory over" a Herod whose "authority is fully extinguished" ("Stoical" 131) is achieved in large part because Mariam's execution is *not* a "public spectacle" for either Herod or the audience of the play. In appearing as the central figure of a public execution, a woman performed with due decorum her passive subjection to another power, and her own lack of power, either moral or physical. In refusing Caesar, Herod, or an audience the pleasure of this spectacle, this reflection of their own superior strength, Pembroke and Cary may well be demonstrating neither a regrettable submission to neo-classical decorum, nor the outright "refusal of the gaze by Mariam and Cleopatra" that Acheson finds (7.3). Instead, I argue that it is in large part because these ceremonies of subjection are kept off stage that the victims thereof are able to subvert the intended effects of the decorous triumph over the woman's body planned by the ruler who orders it, and avoid having their martyrdoms become, for any viewer of the play in performance, pornographic spectacles.

With a theatricality grounded in culturally specific practices for performing gender and power, these scripts make the most of the potential of their genre for performing an effective critique of the representational practices that were emerging at the turn of the seventeenth century and have since come to be essential to naturalistic drama. Both Cleopatra and Mariam resist being fixed and framed as the object of a mastering male gaze, and seek ways to perform a vocal and self-authorizing chastity. Blurring the distinction between actor and audience, between off-stage and on, Pembroke's and Cary's closet dramas can be described in much the same terms that Dolan uses to describe feminist performance criticism: their function is "exposing the ways in which dominant ideology is naturalized by the performance's address to the ideal spectator" (2). No wonder scripts written in such a context are not entirely at home on today's proscenium stage with its naturalistic sets and contented audience: a set-up designed to conceal that which feminist performance theory and Pembroke's and Cary's closet dramas alike work to expose.

## B: THE FRAMER REFRAMED

> "in Sion shall my musique framed be, / of lute and voice most sweetly framed:"
> - Ps. 87, l. 21-22, trans. Mary Pembroke

### 1. Theorizing outside the frame

"I cannot frame disguise," says Cary's tragic heroine Mariam, explaining to her husband Herod why she does not perform the smile he begs and demands from her, "nor never taught / My face a look dissenting from my thought" (4.3.145). Cary's own attitude towards the framing of disguise is an important issue for critics and biographers; the fact that she had the motto "BEE AND SEEME" engraved on her daughter's wedding ring, for instance, alerts us to her concern with the complex relationship between performance and identity (*Life* 118).[51] Critics who have taken up the debate over what some have called the anti-theatricality of *Mariam* (c. 1605) and

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[51] Bennett also draws a connection between Mariam's words about "disguise" and her expressed commitment to the concept of *be and seem*. She argues compellingly that despite its hagiographic purpose Cary's *Life* portrays a woman whose "mind" did not "conform to the outward gestures of her body" (296), and that "*The Tragedy of Mariam* is not simply a tale of one woman's unshakable integrity in the face of oppression, but instead an exploration of duplicity, multiplicity, and their implications for women" (297). However, whereas Bennett argues that Mariam's "fatal" end is the consequence of the fact that "nobody can be entirely sure of her" (300), I argue in this project (see Chapter Three) that Mariam's tragic flaw is her lack of awareness of, and consequent inability to manipulate effectively, her inherent "multiplicity."

Pembroke's earlier *Antonius*, sometimes citing the plays' decorum as evidence of their authors' reluctance to "frame disguise." However, little attention has as yet been paid to these authors' interrogation of the concept of *framing* itself, and I would argue that we cannot understand the particular theatricality of early modern women's closet dramas, cannot that is grasp their constructions of the relationship between being and seeming, without first examining the complex relationship between framing, representation, and performance in the years that led up to the establishment in England of the proscenium stage.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, as Elizabeth I's reign was drawing towards its close and James I's reign was commencing, this complex relationship was continually being renegotiated—I do not say "evolving," however, for I wish to challenge for this period the term's connotations of inevitable teleology and indisputable improvement. I believe, furthermore, that the women authors of dramatic texts penned during this period were aware of this renegotiation, and suspicious of the changes being ushered in. However far from being a female Utopia was the England of Elizabeth I's reign, the Virgin Queen's performance of her own moral and political authority and autonomy made use of contemporary representational apparatuses in ways that provided powerful models for safely and successfully performing the virtuously autonomous female subject, ways that changes in dominant modes of representation, begun in the sixteenth-century but accelerated and pressed into the service of Jame's I's agenda of patriarchal authority, not only disallowed but soon rendered nearly unimaginable. It is woman's struggle to imagine performing the nearly-unimaginable that I read inscribed in both *Mariam* and *Antonius*. It is a struggle against the tyranny of the frame.

According to the OED, it was just at the turn of the seventeenth century that the word "frame" came to be used in the sense that many critics of early modern drama use it today. The earliest recorded use of the word as a noun meaning "That in which something, *esp.* a picture, pane of glass, etc., is set or let in, as in a border or case" occurred in 1600; until then, "frame" generally referred to the overall structure, form, progress, or outcome of an object, person, plan—

or song. The frame that mattered in James Burbage's "Theater"[52] and in its descendants, including the Globe, was not the proscenium, for there was none; rather, it was the structure of the entire building, including stage, stalls, walls, "heavens," and aisles. Actors were viewed from three sides, from below, across, and above; in no way were they, or their actions, framed in the post-1600 sense of the word. Rather, as Frances A. Yates points out, "His theatre would have been for Shakespeare the pattern of the universe, the idea of the Macrocosm, the world stage on which the Microcosm acted his parts" (189).[53] The Globe, in other words, was, like its predecessors, designed as a three-dimensional representation of the frame of the entire world. Until Inigo Jones set to work on those early Stuart masques, one framed a theatre in building it; one did not frame an actor.

Instead of reading Mariam's response to Herod, then, as an anti-theatrical assertion, we may read it as a critique of the new style of representation, a statement which suggests that Mariam already knows what the "Last Duchess" of Browning's poem discovered too late: the dangers of being married to a man who prefers one's smile set in a frame. Herod has here just cut short his argument with Mariam, urging her only to "smile, my dearest Mariam, do but smile, / And I will all unkind conceits exile" (4.3.143-44). But as we have already learned, Herod wants total control of Mariam's smile—it is to be directed always at him, never at anyone else. In effect, he wants her to imitate a picture, wants to be able to view her as he might a framed portrait in his own private collection. Her features must be fixed to please this man who is in charge of Palestine's new regime and also—much as Inigo Jones represented James I to his subjects—its ideal male viewer. Mariam's response to Herod's demand, however, recalls the old regime; she uses "frame" in one of its oldest senses, to refer to an act of construction. Wherever she goes, she insists, she will choose how, and whether, to frame herself. In this insistence Mariam aligns herself with what was at the time of writing an old-fashioned aesthetic, certainly. But this aesthetic is, I would argue, not so much anti-theatrical as it is radically resistant to the growing trend in visual and performance art—the trend to fix and frame woman in a celebration of her immobility and restriction, and as sign of the viewer's masterly position.

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[52] Built in Shoreditch in 1576.

[53] Yates argues that, because of John Dee's work popularizing Vitruvius in his Preface to Euclid, first published in 1570 and highly popular among men of the artisan classes, Elizabethan joiners such as Burbage understood "classical rules of proportion" even though they expressed those rules "in the language of a workman" (107). However, it should be noted that John Orrell is skeptical of Yates's claims on behalf of Burbage's understanding. He argues that "If their [*i.e.* those of Burbage and subsequent builders like him] playhouses really did imitate those of the Romans they will have done so in broad strokes, not erudite details. The possibility that they might have designed the Theater along the lines described by Vitruvius ... is an idea of enormous imaginative appeal [but] it can hardly be documented with any conviction" (47).

It is surely no coincidence that we find a similar interrogation of the changing meaning of the word "frame" in the work of Pembroke. Where she does use a form of the word in her translation of the Psalms (completed no later than 1599, but begun much earlier[54]), it is always used in the pre-seventeenth-century sense, and frequently in a sense that disallows any visual image: besides the passage quoted above in the epigraph for this section, the Psalmist according to Pembroke wishes "To sing and praises frame" (Ps. 92, l. 2), or plans to "day by day new ditties frame" (Ps. 96, l. 5). The framer, in Pembroke's *Psalmes*, is usually either the poet or God himself, who "in my frame hast strongly delt" (Ps. 139, l. 47) and who "the skies in frame did lay" (Ps. 96, l. 15). It is also interesting to note that the King James Version of the Psalms does not use "frame" to translate any of the passages for which Pembroke finds it useful; nor does Pembroke use it where the KJV does. Forms of the verb "to frame" appear relatively rarely in the KJV Psalms, as well. In all of its three appearances, "frame" is here used in the pre-seventeenth-century sense, but now it has negative connotations. In two cases the term refers to plots or stratagems; the framer in these passages is not God or his servant but the sinner who frames "deceit" and "mischief."[55] In the third case, "frame" refers to the human body, but not to celebrate its glories: "For he knoweth our frame," says the psalmist; "he remembereth that we are dust"

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[54] See Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan's discussion of this point, in which they argue that Pembroke's translation of the Psalms could have been completed as early as 1593 or 1594 (2.339-40). They also discuss the possibility that Pembroke may have begun working on the translations much earlier, collaborating with her brother (who died in 1586) from the start.

[55] "Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue framest deceit" (Ps. 50:19); "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law?" (Ps. 94:20).

(Psalm 103:14). To Pembroke, clearly, "frame" meant something very different from what it would mean to James's translators just a few years later.[56] We may find evidence of her discomfort with the new set of associations the word was acquiring in the differences between her Cleopatra's and her Antony's deployment of the discourse of framing: evidence that *Antonius*,[57] like Cary's *Mariam*, dramatizes men's and women's responses to a change in representational regime. (In this case the change is imminent, whereas in *Mariam*, written more than a decade later than *Antonius* in the early years of James I's reign, the change of regime is a fait accompli). Cleopatra does not use the term once; Charmian exhorts her to stay alive and "frame ther [on Antonie's tomb] *Pharsaly*, … frame the grassie plaine" (617-78). But Cleopatra rejects both the advice and, apparently, the vocabulary. By contrast, Pembroke has the threatened Antonius use the verb much as we find it used in the King James Version of the Psalms: in the older sense, but this time with definite negative connotations. In his opening monologue, Antonius laments and rebukes himself: "So long thy love with such things nourished / Reframes, reforms it selfe and stealingly / Retakes his force and rebecomes more great" (99-101).[58] This man, equally anxious over his own ageing body's lack of fixity and his lover's capacity for change, expresses his anxiety here in ambiguous language, for although the phrase "thy love" denotes Antonius's passion, it also invokes his lover, Cleopatra. This, then, is language that stresses the danger of love's—and of woman's—ability to "Reframe … itself" or herself.

Much better in these changing times, one might think, for a man to frame a woman in the new sense, once and for all, a process which implies refusing woman the power to frame (and thus to reframe at any time) herself. This, as the following chapters will demonstrate, is increasingly the theme of artistic and dramatic representations at the turn of the seventeenth century, especially those associated with the court. We may trace the increasing authority of this sentiment in the changing practices of "framing" (*i.e.* constructing) both theatres and portraits, for the new definition of frame implies not only a new construction of representational realism, but also a whole new understanding of the ways in which the viewer and the viewed must be positioned relative to one another, and those positions marked. And because this modern system of positioning is both required and produced by the technique of single-point perspective, it is difficult to distinguish the effect of single-point perspective from that of the proscenium. Although neither the public theatres nor the university productions of Elizabeth Tudor's day were short on spectacle, as we have seen, what they lacked that Inigo Jones provided was, as Orgel and Roy Strong point out, the "illusionistic scenery" created through the technique of single-point perspective (9). For the revolutionary *Masque of Blackness* (1605), "A curtain depicting a wooded landscape, a perspective painting, hid the scene to begin with." As Orgel and Strong comment, "in a sense, the curtain itself was announcing a programme" (19). Central to this new "programme," I would add, was the repositioning of women and men relative to one another. It was a programme that the early modern dramatists Pembroke, Cary, and Shakespeare alike dramatize, interrogate, and resist.

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[56] An all-male group of scholars in the service of the new regime. See *God's Secretaries: The Making of the King James Bible*, by Adam Nicolson (2003). Although carried out during the reign of James I, however, the language of the KJV Bible was archaic for the time; the translators' orders were to base their text on the Bishops' Bible, emending it in consultation with such other sixteenth-century translations as Tyndale's and the Geneva Bible.

[57] Likely begun later than the *Psalmes* though finished earlier.

[58] cf. Garnier: "Et tandis ton amour, nourry de telles choses, / Se refait, se reforme, et peu à peu reprend / Sa puissance premiere et redevient plus grand" (98-100). Pembroke has chosen "reframes" instead of "remakes" to translate "refait."

It has been, however, a singularly successful programme. According to Teresa de Lauretis,

> … femininity is purely a representation, a positionality within the phallic model of desire and signification; it is not a quality or property of women. This all amounts to saying that woman *as* subject of desire or of signification, is unrepresentable; or better, that in the phallic order of patriarchal culture and its theory, woman is unrepresentable except as representation. (20)

I argue[59] that the "femininity" de Lauretis describes should not be taken as a universal, ahistorical construct, and that, moreover, the particular positionality de Lauretis analyzes so incisively is exactly what was at stake for aristocratic Englishwomen of Sidney's and Cary's generation. In other words, at stake at the turn of the seventeenth century was how women were *literally* positioned by the increasingly omnipresent frame—either that of the proscenium, or that required and implied by the use of single-point perspective. I posit the frame, which constructs woman as representation and constructs the male viewer's authoritative subjectivity, as both an apparatus and a material metaphor. Indeed, it is, to use George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's term, one of those structuring metaphors which is, at least today, as difficult to think without, or beyond, as it is invisible.

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[59] As others do. See, for instance, Sue-Ellen Case's "Performing Lesbian in the Space of Technology: Part II," *Theatre Journal* 47 (1995), 331-343.

The ubiquity of this metaphor of the frame goes a great way towards explaining why it is that discussions of early modern English drama, whether or not informed by contemporary critical theory, often rely on the post-1600 notion of the frame: the critic "frames" his or her approach to the texts in a certain way; the text establishes certain frames, frames certain characters, takes the reader into or out of the frame with certain effects. Although a critic may warn us, as Barbara Freedman does, for instance, that said critic "is framed by what she frames as well" (229), the metaphor of the frame is, even when articulated, assumed to be indispensable: we must, it appears, *read* early modern drama as if we were viewing it through the frame of the proscenium arch.

We may find one example of such a reading in the work of Martin Esslin, who sets out "to provide an overview of the field of drama, seen in the light of semiotics but in the widest possible general frame of reference" (11). His goal as a critic, as he understands it, is to give his readers a good-sized frame—a large, well-positioned window on the subject, one might say. And although Esslin defines "the field of drama" broadly and by no means limits his discussion to productions for a proscenium stage, the metaphor of the "frame" nevertheless structures his analysis throughout. Essential to a drama, he tells us, are the "Framing and preparatory indicators": these include "the shape of the theatrical space, the 'ambiance,' [and] the 'atmosphere' of the theatre or cinema," all of which "play a vital part in the overall effect and meaning of the dramatic event for the spectator" (53). This terminology, however, suggests the dominance of the frame: other features can also do, or contribute to doing, what the proscenium does most obviously, and their function is subsumed under the larger category of "framing." Drama is, Esslin's metaphors suggest, quintessentially something that is framed—however wide a view the frame may be enlarged to allow—and the viewer is the one in the proper position to see a scene spread out before him like a field at his unmoving feet.[60] To Elizabethans, however, bringing an array or sequence of individual details into sharp focus was often more important.

Of course I am being unfair in singling out Esslin, for his discourse's reliance on the metaphor of the frame is quite representative of contemporary critics, including those whose subject is early modern drama specifically. Alan C. Dessen, for instance, in his sensible and informative *Elizabethan Drama and the Viewer's Eye*, speaks of our knowledge of history and drama constituting the "spectacles" through which we view Elizabethan drama; he offers his analysis in order to help us "adjust our spectacles to see the plays more clearly" (49), and possibly acquire "a new or even an adjusted angle of vision on this impressive body of dramatic literature" (31). However, Dessen's analysis does not extend to a discussion of the literal angle of vision from which Elizabethans viewed performances, or the irrelevance of such a discussion to situations in which both viewer and viewed were constantly in motion. Indeed, Dessen's "spectacles" seem to function more as a window than as conventional eyeglasses: they improve perspective, not clarity. It is, apparently, our *angle* of vision that must be assisted and perfected, not our desire for surface detail. Dessen's "viewer's eye," then, however blessed with a wide-angle view, is still the creation of post-seventeenth-century culture. Representation, post-proscenium, has become all about position.

Such analyses as these, while often productive of valuable insights into early modern dramatic texts, have the unfortunate side-effect of naturalizing what is, in fact, an artificial and anachronistic system of situating the viewer and the viewed relative to one another. When this approach to the gaze is applied to works in which are inscribed a resistance to the proscenium and to all devices for optically and physically fixing and framing women, as I believe to be true of both *Antonius* and *Mariam*, significant misreadings may result. Critics can and do apply inappropriate standards of realism (which, we must keep in mind, is always a construction), of theatricality in general, and of the possibilities and strategies available for the performance of female authority.

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[60] I use the masculine pronoun here quite deliberately.

I prepare for my discussion of the performances inscribed in these two closet dramas, then, by observing that the reign of Elizabeth I, which was the time period in which Mary Pembroke lived most of her life and in which Elizabeth Cary lived the formative years of hers, was a time when no proscenium stage had yet been built in England. Performances (whether on a stage, in a banqueting hall, in a tilt yard, or in the streets of London) most typically were unframed; and although portraits, perforce, were framed, their claim to authority (on the part of both the artist and the subject) did not generally depend on the conspicuous employment of single-point perspective. According to Maurice Howard, the difference between Tudor and Stuart portraiture may be summed up by pointing on the one hand to such Tudor features as "unreal, flat surfaces around the sitter" that carry family crests or other messages about social standing, and the precise, detailed rendering of "complex patterns on costume fabrics," and on the other hand to the Stuart era's softened brush work, "fluency of style," and the three-dimensional figures in "a naturalistic setting" (77). However, while this generalization is useful, it does gloss over the fact that, as Strong and William Gaunt both point out, the portraits of the later years of Elizabeth's reign, especially the later portraits of Elizabeth herself, differ as significantly from those of Holbein's heyday as they do from those yet to come from the brush of Van Dyck.[61] Indeed, in some ways the "progress" painting made in the days of James I constitutes a return to a style we find popular in representations of Henry VIII and his son, but eschewed by their daughter and sister Elizabeth—and resisted by Pembroke and Cary. Elizabeth, in her later years, favoured increasingly a "stiff, iconic image … where any illusion of reality is sacrificed to programmatic content" (Gaunt 68). But as *Antonius* and *Mariam* dramatize, just as real a sacrifice was that required by the new version of realism and its concomitant objectification and confinement of women. In those very "stiff, iconic" images we find a unique combination of features that, I believe, construct Elizabeth as one who may and must move among her subjects, and that provide important models for the performance of a female virtue which may be exercised in public but unlike that of powerful men is not associated with active, virile, physicality.

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[61] Hans Holbein the Younger, 1497-1543, was Court Painter to Henry VIII, and Sir Anthony van Dyck, 1599-1641, was Court Painter to James I and Charles I. (See Wilson, Gaunt,and Howarth for reviews of their careers.)

Portraits of Elizabeth tend to emphasize features that would be recognizable from any angle, even on a constantly moving woman, and construct the viewer also as mobile and multiple. I discuss this important point at greater length in my first chapter, but for the moment, let us consider the *Armada* portrait of 1588 by George Gower (Figure 1). One feature common to most if not all Tudor portraits is the emphasis on surface detail, especially the attention paid to the rich fabric and jewels Elizabeth wears. This was, after all, the era of the sumptuary laws; those costly fabrics and jewels were highly significant. They are also features that would be recognizable from any angle. This portrait is less typical, however, in its adamant refusal to "portray a convincing sense of space" around Elizabeth's figure, which as Howard points out makes it difficult if not impossible for us to "measure with our eyes" the space she inhabits and "relate [it] to the space around us" (7). It is not only that the portrait avoids the illusion of depth through the use of lighting, although this is an important strategy favoured by Elizabeth. There are other ways too—ways we may recognize from twentieth-century cubist painting by such artists as Picasso—in which the *Armada* portrait denies the viewer any assurance that he firmly ocupies a particular, or particularly good, position from which to view the subject's body. As Strong says of this portrait:

> The Queen stands, brilliantly lit from the front, in a space to which the norms of Renaissance painting do not apply. The chair to the right is seen simultaneously from two different viewpoints. The two tables to the left are also separately observed, while, through the openings of a columned arcade behind her, we witness simultaneously the

> sending of the fire ships into the advancing Spanish fleet and the latter's shipwreck on the rocky coasts of Scotland. (*Gloriana* 131-32)

Such a multiplication of viewpoints suggests a proliferation of points of view; it is a work designed to unsettle the viewer while celebrating the queen's miraculous ubiquity. In other words, the portrait constructs no ideal spectator for Elizabeth, while insisting that, from any and every angle, she is fabulous. Truly this portrait is designed to scatter the proud in the imaginations of their hearts—both Spanish hearts and English.

Insofar as the *Armada* portrait decentres the viewing subject, it resembles Hans Holbein's *Ambassadors* (1533), with that famous anamorphic skull challenging the inadequacy of the onlooker's point of view (Figure 2).[62] However, whereas Holbein deploys the art of perspective to perform his own mastery (among other things, of course), such portraits of Elizabeth as the *Armada*, as I shall discuss in my first chapter, work instead to perform the inadequacy of all who try to comprehend Elizabeth's manifold glories—including the artist.[63] We do find single-point perspective being used to realistic effect in portraits of Elizabeth, but this is actually more common in the earlier ones, such as Lucas de Heere's *Allegory of the Tudor Succession* (1572, Figure 3). Here Henry VIII occupies the centre of the painting, the point to which all the lines converge and all eyes look, for his more-or-less-realistically portrayed relatives are also arranged to draw the viewer's attention towards his figure: it is a scene that would work well on a proscenium stage. But as Strong points out, "the treatment of Elizabeth … advanced [after this] from a stiff but still recognizable human being to an icon, the apotheosized ruler of the post-Armada years" (*Gloriana* 77). And I think he is quite right to call this an advance, however regressive it might seem in terms of standard narratives of the history or art. Questions of artistic skill aside, such "emblematic and synoptic" portraits as the 1588 "Armada" appeal to, and reinforce, a qualitatively different spectator consciousness from that constructed by the *Allegory of the Tudor Succession* (*Gloriana* 155). For Elizabeth's purposes, that was progress.

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[62] As Stephen Greenblatt notes, Dinteville and Selve, the ambassadors Holbein depicts, are "in possession of the instruments—both literal and symbolic—by which men bring the world into focus, represent it in proper perspective" (17).

[63] "The death's-head is most obviously a bravura display of Holbein's virtuosity .... [but] To see the large death's-head requires a ... radical abandonment of what we take to be 'normal' vision; we must throw the entire painting out of perspective in order to bring into perspective what our usual mode of perception cannot comprehend" (Greenblatt 18-19).

## 2. "The lure of a spectator consciousness"

> The drama does not aspire to the condition of iconographic art;
> it becomes it, among other things. – Keir Elam[64]

Elizabeth was able to make such progress in large part because the art of perspective was not so firmly identified with accurate representation as it is today; rather, it was associated in Elizabethan England as much with trickery and illusion as with realism. In act 5 of *Twelfth Night*, at the moment when the unreliability of sight is at last plainly revealed to all eyes, Orsino responds to Viola's and Sebastian's simultaneous and identical appearances by invoking technical trickery: "One face, one voice, one habit, and two persons: / A natural perspective, that is, and is not" (5.1.216-17). As Freedman and Keir Elam have both noted, the "perspective" Orsino refers to here is a *perspective glass*, an optical device "which could make an object look larger or smaller, fragmented or doubled" (Freedman 28). Orsino's exclamation depends for its effect in part on the fact that such a device is distinctly *un*natural: he is surprised in this case to find that nature should produce the kind of trick he associates only with artifice. In other words, Orsino expects the art of perspective not to imitate life, but rather to create effects *not* found in nature; it is life's ability to imitate the effects of perspective that so astonishes him.

But Orsino, we may recall, is himself an illusion.[65] The audience sees an actor playing Orsino in a theatrical performance—by definition an event in which much (though never all) of what one sees is a carefully controlled artifice. And at this particular moment the audience sees the actor performing the role of a fictional Orsino who is engaged in recalling a device designed to control what one sees; this character, furthermore, is one whose persistent insistence on his ability rightly to see those around him (Olivia as his destined bride, Viola as his faithful eunuch) is, at this moment, demonstrated to be illusory. To this extent, then, I would agree with the thesis of Freedman's *Staging the Gaze* that Shakespeare's comedies in particular, and western theatre as a whole, are "fascinated by … the gaze" that "elides the eye and shows us how we are caught out by our own look—displaced in the act of spectatorship" (1). But I would also argue that *Antonius* and *The Tragedy of Mariam*—although tragedies—share with *Twelfth Night* and Shakespeare's other comedies a willingness to challenge and interrogate some of the very assumptions that underlie Freedman's analysis of "right and erring spectatorship" (1). For this analysis assumes he omnipresence, even on the stage of the imagination, of the proscenium frame, and the inevitability of that theatre's consequent construction of the viewer as a particular kind of voyeur. As in the case of Freedman's work, this spectacle must also be recognizable as a *picture* and as one, furthermore, that structures its subject, and the viewer's subjectivity, by means of single-point perspective. Indeed, in Freedman's view a picture may be just as, or even more, theatrical than a play.[66]

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[64] "'Draw the curtain and show you the picture': Trans-figuring Shakespeare's discourse," talk given at the University of Alberta, October 8, 2003.

[65] Whether or not we *do* recall it at this moment may well depend on the way the scene is staged.

The best way to understand early modern "theatricality," according to Freedman, is to begin with Albrecht Dürer's well-known woodcut of a draughtsman drawing a reclining woman (Nuremburg 1525, Figure 4), which "plays out, reverses, and so complicates positions of right and erring spectatorship" in ways analogous to those she identifies at work in Shakespeare's comedies. On her reading, "Dürer's multiplication of pictures within this picture creates the theatrical effect of a dramatic interplay of looks" because "the windows frame nature much as the artist would frame woman," and

> … we in turn frame the painter as well. The painter as a privileged spectator is himself displaced by being made the object of our look. We no sooner see him as a Peeping Tom than we see ourselves as voyeurs who are similarly caught in the act of looking. The

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[66] "Works that both confound the spectator's look and parade that fact are theatrical, as are paintings and films that expose their observers as voyeurs" (1).

> complex relay of looks among painter, model, and spectator not only stages our look, but reflects it back to us in a way that we cannot but identify as theatrical. (1)

This complex exchange of gazes, she continues, is unproblematically analogous to that constructed by Shakespeare's comedies, which

> … play upon the lure of a spectator consciousness; they no sooner tantalize us with a stable position of mastery than they mock this stance by staging audience, character, plot, and theme as sites of misrecognition. First, the role of spectator offers a group ego as a site of misrecognition, insofar as it tempts us with the illusory position of the privileged voyeur. (2)

Here Freedman equates the alluring "spectator consciousness" with a "stable position of mastery," implying in other words that what tempts all spectators of all theatrical performances is the promise of occupying a position analogous to that occupied by the male artist in Dürer's woodcut.[67] On one reading, this analysis appears entirely adequate to what we find in *Twelfth Night*: Orsino is tempted "with a stable position of mastery" that events prove illusory; Illyria itself is very much a site of misrecognition. But what Freedman's model does not accommodate is Shakespeare's challenge to the assumptions on which her definition of theatricality rests. For this definition is in actuality a tautology: the "interplay of looks" generated by the multiple acts of framing depicted and required by this woodcut *is* theatrical, for the reason that "we cannot but identify" it as such. And we are so compelled if we find ourselves engaged in an "interplay of looks" generated by such multiple acts of framing as those depicted and required by Dürer's woodcut.

The hold these assumptions have on the contemporary imagination may in part account for the ironic fact that Freedman, whose work in so many useful ways foregrounds theatricality and positionality, rarely takes up questions of staging at all. For instance, she observes that "Since women may be seen but not heard in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, some of the most powerful productions of the play flood the stage with visions of identical women" (186). However, despite her argument that "patriarachal law [in *Dream*] determines perspective and operates through the control of that perspective" (182), Freedman does not discuss any ways by which perspective itself can be foregrounded and interrogated through staging, or how such staging may be inscribed in the text. In fact, Freedman actually treats the acts of reading and viewing as indistinguishable: she states in her introduction that "In question is how to read plays that stage reading as erring" (4), and asserts that "The end result" of her several chapters "is a series of readings that question the possibility of reading as mastery" (5).[68] Such an approach has the effect, ultimately, of conflating theatre-goer with reader, and thus of erasing the stage; it renders irrelevant the material details of the actual place and positioning of performers and spectators. Yet it is these material details that require our attention, for surely we must exercise great caution in applying this perspective-based model of theatricality to Elizabethan theatre. Have all viewers always agreed on the nature of "right spectatorship"? What constituted right spectatorship, and what was the nature of the relay of looks between and among actors and audience members, in a theatre without frames, in a theatre that achieved spectacle without the particular brand of illusion achieved through the proscenium and/or single-point perspective? Is there really no essential difference between the theatricality of a painting and that of a play? Could we see ourselves as voyeurs if we were not, as Dürer's artist is, ourselves sitting still while we looked at an image carefully framed both to guide and invite our eye?

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[67] And I cannot help thinking of de Lauretis's "phallic model" when I consider this artist's instrument.

I have given this much attention to Freedman's explication of her approach in order to establish how essential it is—and how difficult—that we ask such questions, especially where early modern English drama is concerned. And I would argue that it was *not* inevitable at the close of the sixteenth century, whether or not it is so for Western viewers today, for one to equate theatricality with sort of positioning constructed by Dürer's woodcut. For "early modern" is, surely, much too broad a term in this context: it does not seem hyperbolic to me to describe the changes in theatre practice that took place in England between the 1580s and the 1660s as revolutionary.[69] English theatre of the late sixteenth century was written and produced for an audience whose understanding of "theatrical effect[s]" did not depend (as the work produced by Dürer's artist depends) on anything being framed. Rather, at the turn of the seventeenth century in England, the audience's desire for the particular illusion that single-point perspective creates—the illusion of looking without being looked at, the illusion of a stable subjectivity that is not contingent on recognition and positioning by, and relative to, another—was still being created. It was a desire that was growing, but by no means naturalized during this period: it was a temptation known to theatre-goers of the time, but it was not the only position of spectatorship they were capable of imagining. Some at least of those early modern audience members who watched the self-deceiving duke of Illyria talk *as if* his gaze were artificially, duplicitously, framed would have been familiar with some of the uses of perspective, both to create illusion and to establish new standards for "realism."[70] But the iconic, emblematic style had by no means given up its dominance in 1601. What Shakespeare and his company presented was theatre that dramatized this representational agon, and interrogated the radical transformation that conventions of representation and models of spectatorship were currently undergoing. And so we find, in *Twelfth Night*, not just the kind of spectatorial mockery that Freedman identifies, but a challenge to the very basis of Freedman's argument.

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[68] She also assumes that the viewer's desire for the position of stable mastery has no alternative model to long for, and this I believe prevents her from thoroughly interrogating alternatives to that "illusory position of the privileged voyeur."

Orsino's comments in act 5 foreground the artifice required to satisfy the spectator consciousness that depends on frames and framing for its existence and satisfaction, but Orsino is by no means the only character who interrogates, and challenges, the nature of viewing. As Elam points out, the interaction between Olivia and Viola reminds us that the theatrical can never be purely pictorial. I would further add that this same interaction dramatizes the deadly consequences of a model of womanhood that requires a woman to imitate the fixity of a picture, and the liberatory force inherent in the performance of fluidity and flux. Here is the moment when we see "the sexuality and sensuality of Olivia suddenly coming out of mourning" (Elam):

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[69] Bearing in mind that I do not assume every "revolution" to constitute "progress."

[70] As I discuss in the following chapter, Orgel and Strong may be somewhat overstating their case in their analysis of the degree to which Pembroke's and Cary's contemporaries were ignorant of the art of perspective. (See their argument that "Jones had to deal with an untrained audience who were not, moreover, quick learners" [11].) *Twelfth Night* was performed at the Middle Temple, and may have been written for the occasion, according to Anthony Arlidge (*Shakespeare and the Prince of Love* 2000). It was also performed at court. Even at the Globe, among the members of Shakespeare's famously diverse audience would have been some who were familiar with either Dürer's woodcuts, or such courtly showpieces as *The Ambassadors* and the anamorphic *Edward VII*, or both types of picture.

> VIOLA. Good madam, let me see your face.
> OLIVIA. Have you any commission from your lord, to negotiate with my face? You are
> now out of your text. But we will draw the curtain and show you the picture.
> [*Unveils.*] Look you, sir, such a one I was this present. Is't not well done?
> (1.5.217-22)

Olivia's tense-bending comment, "such a one I was this present," invites us to read her face as a portrait of itself: a paradoxical invitation that "underlines the fluidity of the dramatic act" (Elam). Simultaneously, the invitation foregrounds the fact (as Elam further points out) that "Try as she may, she can never become a picture … unlike her brother she is still alive." We may recognize at the same moment as Olivia how futile is "her game of fixing" herself in the unmoving position "against mortality" that her mourning represents (Elam).[71] For her body—her beauty—can never be fixed. However self-consciously Olivia performs for Viola she cannot achieve the theatricality of Dürer's print because—as this scene reminds us—a living, breathing (and thus moving) human body is always slipping out of the present moment, and the present place, to some other place, some other time, some other physical self. Olivia's realization of her sudden, enlivening new desire to be viewed by that agent of change, Cesario, is crucial to her realization that she is not and never can be a painting. She acknowledges this reality at the moment that she chooses to allow herself a present and a future that are not bound to the past—to allow herself to be mortal, and thus changeable—to be, in other words, alive.

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[71] And Olivia only finds herself willing to "draw the curtain" after she has deliberately destabilized its viewer. Certainly Olivia is being highly theatrical here. She speaks to Viola as an actor, but then reverses their position and takes the role of the viewed herself.

## 3. Outrage this gaze: perspective and performativity

> More simply, we know that women are meant to *look* perfect, presenting a seamless image to the world so that man, in that confrontation with difference, can avoid any comprehension of lack. – Jacqueline Rose, *Sexuality in the Field of Vision*

The deadly consequence of such fixing as Olivia's, whether self-imposed or imposed by another, is as important a theme in *Antonius* and *Mariam* as it is in *Twelfth Night*. As both Pembroke's and Cary's works dramatize, any attempt to view a woman as a picture (as a realistic one, at least), any attempt that is to require a woman to perform the fixity of painted body for a masterful and mastering gaze, is destructive. For although I do not consider *Antonius* and *Mariam* to be anti-theatrical or to constitute a sustained critique of the "liberatory potential" of performance (Acheson 7.1), I do wish to argue that the performances inscribed in both texts resist the particular theatricality required by the framing tools of the perspective artist.

One of the most important, and most compelling, points that Acheson makes in her article, "'Outrage Your Face': Anti-Theatricality and Gender in Early Modern Closet Drama by Women," is that both *Antonius* and *Mariam* constitute "protests against, or resistances to, the ways in which women of the period were contained or determined by being seen" (7.3). Much of the discussion in the following chapters explores these protests and resistances in detail; in large part my conclusions support Acheson's assertion that "In both plays ... the heroines are victims for being looked at, and victors for the looking" as well as her assessment that "the critique of women as spectacles [in these two plays] contributes to the establishment of women as points-of-view" (7.9). Yet I cannot entirely concur with her claim that both plays "deny at least their female players the 'three-dimensional space' … essential to the more naturalistic public theatre, and to performative notions of gender and identity" (7.1), or with her conclusion that "These plays … cogently critique the pleasures and persuasions of performance, gendered and general" (10). Instead, I argue that in establishing women as points-of-view, in representing them as "victors for the looking," Pembroke and Cary dramatize just how performative can be the very resistance to being made a certain kind of spectacle that Acheson finds at the heart of both dramas. Although these plays do resist *some* of "the ways in which women of the period were ... seen," especially those essential to naturalistic drama, the performances inscribed in these texts do not resist any and every way in which a woman might conceivably be seen. And it seems to me that it is not the actor's or the character's pleasure, but the spectator's pleasure, including that pleasure of feeling oneself solidly located in three-dimensional space, that both these texts are designed to deny.

For one thing, despite how very injurious they find the gaze of others to be, Mariam and Cleopatra do not entirely seek enclosure. Acheson argues that it is Cleopatra's "modesty and faithfulness, demonstrated by her withdrawal from the stage of the world into the enclosure of the tomb, and her self-defacement ('outrage your face' [5.197]) at the conclusion of the play, which define her character and her virtue" (7.4). But "Herod's jealousy," asserts Mariam, "taught" her "to range" (1.1.23, 26): mobility of tongue and limb rather than seclusion is Mariam's chief longing. And even Cleopatra's move to her monument at the close of the play is actually a public performance. Dircitus's description stresses Cleopatra's elevation to "a window high" (1647), where she becomes the focus of an attentive crowd of "people which beneath in flocks beheld, / Assisted her with gesture, speech, desire: / Cri'de and incourag'd her" (1667-1669a). The Nuntio's description of Mariam's death scene on the scaffold likewise invites us to imagine her elevated, displayed as an exemplary martyr to the crowd through which she has just passed. Each woman's place of death becomes a stage for her final performance, rather than a place of retreat. It is certainly important that neither of these scenes is provided for the witnesses in the audience, as I have noted earlier. But there are also many occasions on which Mariam and Cleopatra draw attention to their bodies' three-dimensionality while on stage, especially in such moments as Cleopatra's "self-defacement." If this behaviour helps to "define" Cleopatra's "character and her virtue," as Acheson suggests, and I think it does, it is nevertheless difficult to see how Cleopatra's effort to "'outrage'" her face signifies a self-effacing refusal "to perform" (7.1) or a denial of the body. Without "three-dimensional space to occupy," Acheson asserts, Cleopatra's "body has no secret spaces, no unseen interior, no hidden orifices" (7.4). Yet to deface oneself is to reveal the permeable body's three-dimensionality and release the fluid it contains, that dangerous mortal flux of female flesh. Dircitus stresses Cleopatra's "moist eies" (1659) and torn skin ("brest which blowes had bloudilie benumb'd" [1661), features which her companions complain about as well from the moment she enteres the stage with them in act 2. Likewise, Mariam's opening scene must be considered to emphasize her body's three-dimensionality and its "orifices." Her first line ("How oft have I, with public voice run on" 1.1.1) draws attention to her mouth, and uses the discourse of fluids to describe her words; in subsequent lines she draws attention to the tears flowing from her eyes. Throughout the play, her debates with herself focus on whether to have sex with Herod and whether to smile at him: both questions draw our attention to her orifices, hidden and visible.[72]

Nevertheless, although I disagree with Acheson's equation of "self-defacement" with a denial of the body's "unseen interior," I think she is exactly right to identify such theatrical self-defacement as Cleopatra's with Pembroke's decision to keep some of Cleopatra's most spectacular moments off stage. What both decisions have in common is their refusal to gratify the viewer with what Jacqueline Rose calls, in the epigraph to this section, the "seamless image" of a woman's body. Such unseamed and unseemly bodies as Cleopatra's and Mariam's perform the viewer's lack, not their own.[73] And this is why the men in *Antonius* and *Mariam*, Antony and Herod in particular, become hysterical—but not the women.[74] Each powerful man portrayed in these two plays is committed to performing his own physical and psychic coherence; neither can recognize himself without his mask of marble masculinity; consequently, neither is able to avail himself of the "liberatory potential" of performance. Furthermore, each clings to the illusion that his power is essential to him rather than performed, and requires the approving gaze of properly positioned victims and witnesses to sustain the illusion. Each female protagonist, by contrast, either already recognizes, as Cleopatra does, or discovers through her trials, as Mariam does, the power that lies in performing an unfixed, incoherent, subjectivity.[75]

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[72] Both plays also foreground the fact that their female protagonists have borne children.
[73] These are bodies that move and change in space and in time; these are plays that insist on their female protagonists' living fully in not just three but in *four* dimensions.
[74] Acheson's analysis of Antony's and Herod's hysteria is original and astute. It is a topic to which I shall return in my third chapter.

The shift from what Strong calls "emblematic and synoptic" representation in painting to the particular realism of single-point perspective, from resemblances to categories, from Scholastic to Baconian models of the position and practice of the natural philosopher, is underway while Pembroke and Cary live, study, and write their plays; we can already see an awareness and critical interrogation of the fact of this shift and its implications in *Mariam*. If we bear this history of the gaze in mind, we may draw very different conclusions from Acheson's about the last words of *Mariam*, spoken by the Chorus:

> Whoever hath beheld with steadfast eye
> The strange events of this one only day[,]
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> It will from them all certainty bereave,
> Since twice six hours so many can deceive. (5.Chor.259-60, 63-64)

Assuming as she does that beholding "with steadfast eye" constitutes the ideal gaze best suited to see the truth, Acheson sympathizes with this Chorus, who on her reading "despairs of an audience with sufficient constancy of gaze to have looked upon the spectacle without confusion." She reasons that "If even the most 'steadfast eye' is bereaved of 'certainty,' then there is no appearance which can be presumed to work as reality, in terms of ethics, gender, or identity."

I would argue, instead, that both plays evidence a deep distrust of the authority, and the wounding power, of that "steadfast [patriarchal] eye," and a dramatization of the liberatory potential of the kind of scene in which the watching eye is mobile rather than steadfast, multiple rather than single, and ever shifting its position relative to the performance space and relative to the (other) performers. After all, as we have seen, every act of reading closet drama had at least the potential to be an act of radical self-fashioning for early modern women readers. To discover what happens when bereaved of certainty is rather the point. Both plays examine both the injurious power of language to place another in a position of vulnerability and the ways in which, as Butler argues in *Excitable Speech*, "linguistic agency" may "emerge from this scene of enabling vulnerability" (2). On my reading, Cleopatra and Mariam each resists the object position of the viewed while seeking actively to construct situations in which she may be both viewer and viewed, and in which, furthermore, what she offers to view is not a single perfected image of her body, but a body that insists on its unfixability, mobility and changeability.

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[75] Acheson's observation that "the heroines [Cleopatra and Mariam] are as much source of the gaze as objects of it" is an important one, but her conclusion that Cleopatra and Mariam reverse "the polarity of the gaze in these plays" (6) and that such a reversal actually evidences a desire to escape the gaze of the men depends upon an anachronistic model of the gaze: that portrayed by Dürer, a model in which there is no place for the sort of performativity Cleopatra and Mariam actually demonstrate. The sites and the sightlines that Cleopatra and Mariam both construct cannot be understood in terms of any polarity.

## C. TO "IMAGINE AN IMPOSSIBLE SCENE"

> In historicized performance gaps are not to be filled in, seams and contradictions show in all their roughness, and therein lies one aspect of spectatorial pleasure—when our differences *from* the past and *within* the present are palpable, graspable, possibly applicable. – Elin Diamond, *Unmaking Mimesis*, p. 50

The constitutive power of language, within which "we are formed," is the foundational principle on which Butler builds her argument in *Excitable Speech* (2). Starting from this premise, Butler demonstrates compellingly that injurious speech has the paradoxical potential to "solicit a response … that it never anticipated, losing its own sovereign sense of expectation in the face of a resistance it advertently [*sic*] helped to produce" (12). She introduces this argument by challenging us to

> … imagine an impossible scene, that of a body that has not yet been given social definition, a body that is, strictly speaking, not accessible to us, that nevertheless becomes accessible on the occasion of an address, a call, an interpellation that does not discover this body, but constitutes it fundamentally. (5)

At the unlocateable centre of this scene is "a body that is … not accessible to us." Whether such a body could ever exist is not the point; this scene is "impossible" because we cannot imagine it without in some way calling the body to mind. Because the body is "ushered into existence" by language, Butler then argues (and here she is on ground familiar to readers of her earlier work) that the body is never fully constituted at any given moment or in any one scene.[76] Thus it is impossible for the body to exist as we like to imagine it: complete, coherent, and controllable. The scene we *can* easily imagine, the scene we imagine ourselves to observe time and time again—the scene, that is, of our own perfect coherence, our immunity to "social definition"—is, in fact, illusory. And resistance to injurious speech, Butler implies, depends on shattering that illusion.

Butler's work in *Excitable Speech* is important to my approach, because the effects of injurious language and the possibilities of resistance thereto are central concerns of both Pembroke's *Antonius* and Cary's *Mariam*. Antony, Cleopatra, Mariam, Graphina, Constabarus, Salome, even Pembroke's Caesar, are, in almost every case, characters who utter threats; in every case, they are characters responding to threatened acts of injury; and the relative efficacy of various response strategies is examined, and dramatized, by both texts. What happens or can happen on stage and in the audience, during the performance of a dramatic text that examines the power of speech to paralyze and dissolve the coherent subject? If Butler is right—and I believe she is—that resistance to injurious speech depends on shattering the speaker's illusion of speaking from an unchanging and unchallengeable position, then what kind of scene of resistance may we imagine? To answer this, we must bear in mind that the challenge Butler poses to our imaginative powers is not solely the consequence of our existence in time, for injurious speech and the resistance it potentiates are also dependent upon movement and position in space. The presence of others in a shared space is required for that body to be given its "social definition." Interpellation is performed, experienced, and observed, in space. Its effects are enhanced by movement, gesture, and positioning, and sometimes a non-verbal movement, gesture, or position can itself have an illocutionary function.[77] Examples include the hands raised to bless, or the finger shaken in warning in another's face. Thus, as the passage quoted above implies (although Butler does not discuss this), agency and injury both are performed through the speaking body's dynamic and changing relationship to the three-dimensional space in which it finds itself, that space which in its very finding the body alters or invents. Whether we imagine ourselves present within the scene, or without it, as witnesses, either way without speaking a word we inevitably reconstitute the scene, and the body at its centre, into something different from what Butler has asked us to try to imagine.

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[76] See, for instance, *Bodies That Matter*, in which Butler asserts that "the materiality of sex is constructed through a ritualized repetition of norms" (x), and argues, "That this reiteration is necessary is a sign that materialization is never quite complete, that bodies never quite comply with the norms by which their materialization is impelled" (2).

It is not that Butler neglects the context of a speech act. On the contrary, it is her explicit focus. In fact, she cites the important caution offered by J. L. Austin in his seminal explication of speech act theory: "to know what makes the force of an utterance effective, what establishes its performative character, one must first locate the utterance within a 'total speech situation'" (*Speech* 5). And she recognizes that Austin's "speech situation is … not a simple sort of context, one that might be easily defined by spatial and temporal boundaries" (*Speech* 4). However, on Austin's construction the total speech situation includes the spatial, social, and historical context of the utterance,[78] whereas Butler's argument in *Excitable Speech* focuses almost exclusively on the "temporal life" into which our bodies are interpellated (2). In her treatment of the topic, the body's movement through, and existence in, the fourth dimension of time comes to stand for the "total speech situation": what happens in the other three is, for her, strangely immaterial. Instead, Butler reassigns the discourse of spatiality from subject of study to rhetorical trope. The following is representative of her rhetorical strategy in this regard:

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[77] Butler comments that "a statement may be made that, on the basis of a grammatical analysis alone, appears to be no threat. But the threat emerges precisely through the act that the body performs in the speaking the act [*sic*]. Or the threat emerges as the apparent effect of a performative act only to be rendered harmless through the bodily demeanor of the act (any theory of acting knows this)" (*Speech* 11). Austin comments that "In very many cases it is possible to perform an act of exactly the same kind [as that performed by a performative utterance] *not* by uttering words" but by other behaviours (8).

[78] "There must exist an accepted conventional procedure"; "the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate," and the "procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and ... completely" (Austin 14-15).

> To be injured by speech is to suffer a loss of context, that is, not to know where you are. Indeed, it may be that what is *unanticipated* about the injurious speech act is what constitutes its injury, the sense of putting its addressee out of control. The capacity to circumscribe the situation of the speech act is jeopardized at the moment of injurious address. To be addressed injuriously is not only to be open to an unknown future, but not to know the time and place of injury, and to suffer the disorientation of one's situation as the effect of such a speech. Exposed at the moment of such a shattering is precisely the volatility of one's "place" within the community of speakers; one can be "put in one's place" by such speech, but such a place may be no place. (*Speech* 4)

Here as elsewhere Butler begins her analysis with the language of place and then changes the signification of "place" to conflate space and time. Her initial assertion is that "To be injured by speech is … not to know where you are"; however, her elaboration of this equates not knowing *where* you are with being made "open to an unknown future." When at the end of the passage she returns to the discourse of space, Butler now uses quotation marks, signalling that "'place'" is precisely that which she is *not* discussing. Thus what begins as a literal noun ends as a metaphor for the temporal moment that is the site of her attention.

It is important to recognize that Butler's relative neglect of spatiality in *Excitable Speech* suits her analysis of the prose texts, particularly legal documents, that are the chief concern of her study. For one thing, deictics are less important in prose than in drama.[79] Even more significantly, Butler's discussion of the possibility of resistance involves examples of both spoken and written language, focusing on the features common to both; the writer and reader are not present in the same physical place when the printed injurious words find their target.[80] And given her focus on temporality, her repeated conflation of the discourse of space with that of time is almost inevitable. As Lakoff and Johnson note, it is nearly impossible to talk about movement through time *without* using the discourse of spatiality, my use of *movement* in this sentence being a case in point (139). But studying the kinds of spaces that words can construct, and what those spaces signify to those who construct and are constructed by them, is, of course, central to the study of dramatic scripts. For this reason, conflating time and space may prevent our arriving at some important applications of Butler's argument to this particular genre. Consider, as an example, Butler's argument that each speaking subject is "positioned as both addressed and addressing, taking its bearings within that crossed vector of power" (30). In fact, such positioning as Butler describes, such taking of bearings, features a minimum of *two* crossed vectors. This is no mere quibble. Naming exercises a force by which one may be positioned in social and physical space, whether that force is experienced as injurious or not. And force, as Butler's term "vector" reminds us, has an origin and is directional. One force can counter or redirect other forces, and in theory at least such interplay can be diagrammed, mapped out—or staged. Drama, then, can explore and develop the crucial question that Butler's work suggests: if we position ourselves, find ourselves, at the point where two or more forces intersect, what happens when they fail to do so?

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[79] See Alessandro Serpieri for a thorough discussion of this point.

[80] It is probably also, whether deliberately so or not, an expression of Butler's rejection, as articulated in *Bodies that Matter*, of "discussion of performativity that involves theater since performance, or rather the performer, implies one who ontologically precedes and then fabricates gender effects" (Diamond, *Mimesis* 46). I agree with Diamond that "Butler's charge simplifies the complexity of practices that constitute cultural and social existence. Though 'performativity' is not an 'act' but a 'reiteration' or 'citation,' why should we restrict its iterative sites to theory and to the theorist's acts of seeing? ... Performance ... is the site in which performativity materializes in concentrated form, where the 'concealed or dissimulated conventions' of which acts are mere repetitions might be investigated and reimagined" (*Mimesis* 47).

Cary's Mariam is one literary figure who finds herself at the intersection of too many crossed vectors, caught in a veritable crossfire of conflicting names *and* conflicting positionings, as I shall discuss in my final chapter. Some of these forces are performed by language, others are performed by physical movement (inscribed in the text). As a consequence of their confluence, Mariam recognizes herself as cabinn'd, cribb'd, confin'd, blind to others and to herself; and Cary shows this recognition to be for Mariam (and possibly also for her audience) the beginning of wisdom. The queen's response to her husband King Herod in the final two acts of the tragedy acknowledges her own disorientation, and in the final act Mariam's ability to exploit her *physical* position (her absence from the scene and therefore from Herod's sight) succeeds in humbling her injurer as nothing, and no one else, has been able to do. Similarly, the opening act of Pembroke's *Antonius* dramatizes the protagonist's agonized disorientation; Cleopatra, however, like the Mariam of Cary's last two acts, knows herself caught in crossed vectors of power, but also knows how to turn this situation against those from whom the vectors emanate, making them conscious of their own vulnerability as socially constructed subjects. As a consequence of such interventions, Herod, Antony, and Caesar discover that "The more one seeks oneself in language, the more one loses oneself precisely there where one is sought" (Butler, *Speech* 30). As vectors of force multiply, they are increasingly likely to be exposed as potentially injurious and, in that exposure, resisted.

It is easy—perhaps too easy—to imagine a scene in which others "suffer a loss of context" to use Butler's term (*Speech* 4). Such scenes feature characters who find themselves either "fixed and paralyzed" or so unfixed as to be quite undone. It is not so easy to imagine scenes that make visible our own illusion of imperial objectivity, of being ourselves independent of context. Furthermore, the performance and the witnessing of illocutionary speech acts defends us against having to imagine our own loss of context. In particular, injurious speech instantiates the speaker's desire to remain blind to his subjectivity's dependency on context, and also shifts the notice of any observers away from either the speaking subject's or their own essential contingency to the more visible vulnerability of the addressee. Essential to this defense is establishing a controlled and orderly physical context for the speech act. Since "infelicity is an ill to which *all* acts are heir which have the general character of ritual or ceremonial" (Austin 18-19), felicity depends on the present evidence of the speech act's repetition throughout time (*Speech* 25). But evidence of its status as an authorized and authorizing ritual includes not only the ritualized language of the speech act itself, which Butler stresses, but also what I must call the staging of the performance in space: the arrangement of the bodies of the speaker, the injured party, *and* the witnesses relative to one another always and, often, relative to their physical surroundings. Even when injurious language does not take a ritualized form, the element of staging is, I would argue, a very important condition of felicitous injury, which requires the observer's visible complicity, and rewards it.[81] And if the injuring party's illusions are vulnerable to exposure, so too are the illusions of those who choose to witness the scene of injury. Scenes in which the threatener's and the viewer's illusions of mastery alike are thwarted; scenes that refract into a terrifying and potentially liberating recognition of multiple moments, situations, bodies, selves: these are the nearly impossible scenes that are the focus of my project.

In order to conceptualize such scenes spatially, I turn to Elin Diamond, whose approach to what she terms gestic feminist theatre draws on the work of both Bertolt Brecht and Walter Benjamin. Despite the blindness to gender issues characteristic of both men's work, Diamond argues convincingly for their relevance to feminist performance theory, pointing out regarding Brecht, for instance:

> If feminist theory sees the body as culturally mapped and gendered, Brechtian historicization insists that this body is not a fixed essence but a site of struggle and change. If feminist theory is concerned with the multiple and complex signs of a woman's life—her desires and politics, her class, ethnicity, or race—what I want to call her *historicity*—Brechtian theory gives us a way to put that historicity in view—in the theater.[82] (*Mimesis* 52)

If one of Butler's main points is that this struggle, this change situated in the body is something a human subject cannot simply choose to undertake, *Excitable Speech* takes up the difficult but necessary question of how change may, nonetheless, be effected, focusing less on constructing gender than on threatening injury, less on transformation than on resistance, less on the *here* than on the *now*. Through Diamond's work we may bring Butler's analysis of the possibility of resistance back to the literal site of the historicized body.

Central to Diamond's "materialist approach" is Brecht's "theory of the *gestus*, ... reconsidered through feminism" (*Mimesis* xiv). Diamond understands the feminist *gestus* as both an event and an image, and implies that what we show can work as effectively as what we say to historicize—which is to say demystify—both the speaker of injurious speech and the witnesses to it:

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[81] See Parker and Sedgwick's entertaining as well as insightful discussion of how "Austin's rather bland invocation of 'the proper context' (in which a person's saying something is to count as doing something) has opened, under pressure of recent theory, onto a populous and contested scene in which the role of silent or implied witnesses, for example, or the quality and structuration of the bonds that unite auditors or link them to speakers, bears as much explanatory weight as do the particular speech acts of supposed individual speech agents" (7).

[82] Compare Sigrid Weigel's project in *Body- and Image-Space: Re-reading Walter Benjamin*, in which she discusses affinities between Benjamin's thought and that of Julia Kristeva.

> Because the *gestus* is effected by a historical subject/actor, what the spectator sees is not a mere miming of a social relationship, but a *reading* of it, an interpretation by a historical subject who supplements (rather than disappears into) the production of meaning. ... the historical subject playing an actor, playing a character, splits the gaze of the spectator who, as a reader of a complex sign system, cannot consume or reduce the object of her vision to a monolithic project of the self. Indeed with the *gestus* Brecht ruins the scopic regime of the perspectival realist stage. While leaving the proscenium intact, while encouraging his spectators to look from a distance, he also undermines the immobility of the spectatorial eye/I, for in the act of looking the spectator engages with her own temporality. She, too, becomes historicized—in motion and at risk. (*Mimesis* 53, original emphasis)

I do not think, and I do not think Diamond means to imply, that it is necessary to have a proscenium in order to achieve such effects. Indeed, in many cases we do much better to dispense with it.

It is in the work of post-modern feminist performance art, however, rather than early modern drama, that Diamond finds some of the same effects that I find in the works of Pembroke and Cary. Although she begins her discussion of the application of gestic feminist criticism to specific works with Aphra Behn, her focus here is on how Behn responds to "the lavish perspectival displays in Restoration theater which coincided with [Behn's] playwrighting career" (xiv). Diamond is particularly interested in the ways in which Behn's plays mark "the inception of modern theater architecture in England" and "explore the scopic regime of illusionism that fed the hunger for greater stage realism" (55). Thus the feature of Behn's plays that particularly concerns Diamond in her discussion is "her highly contradictory practice of exposing the bodies of female performers in the upstage Scenes of the theater, thereby intensifying their commodity status" (55). Diamond applies both Brechtian theory and Benjamin's notion of the allegory in a powerful reading of how "Behn's body in undress and in the Scenes takes on" an "allegorical function, pointing to, and materially instantiating, the collapse of an idealized nature (the nature of Behn's paradisal, sexually 'uncontrolled' Golden Age) into the historical exchange economy that defined late seventeenth-century gender relations" (79).[83]

Benjamin's work becomes most central to Diamond's approach, however, when she moves to post-modern feminist performance art, considering works that resist rather than feed "the hunger for greater stage realism" (*Mimesis* 146). Here Diamond calls on Benjamin's foundational concept of the dialectical image, which she usefully identifies as a "version of the demystifying *gestus*" (*Mimesis* 146). Her operational definition of the dialectical image as "a montage construction of forgotten objects or pieces of commodity culture that are 'blasted' out of history's continuum" is quite a bit narrower than Benjamin's (*Mimesis* 146).[84] Nevertheless, in her study of "a kind of storytelling that emphasizes not only the contingency of the present but also historical figurations composed of lost or forgotten artifacts, the detritus of commodity culture," Diamond makes a compelling case for reading such "pieces" as performances in which "auratic bodies transform into 'dialectical images'—embodied montage-like constructions ... that bring conflicting temporalities into view and into (the concept of) experience" (*Mimesis* xv). Using Benjamin's work as a supplement to Brecht's gives Diamond a powerful way of describing one particular type of *gestus* and the way it functions to historicize the performer and the viewer.

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[83] Butler's understanding of drag is actually quite similar to Diamond's reading of "Behn's body in undress": "The critical promise of drag," says Butler, "does not have to do with the proliferation of genders, as if a sheer increase in numbers would do the job, but rather with the exposure or the failure of heterosexual regimes ever fully to legislate or contain their own ideals. Hence, it is not that drag *opposes* heterosexuality, or that the proliferation of drag will bring down heterosexuality; on the contrary, drag tends to be the allegorization of heterosexuality and its constitutive melancholia. As an allegory that works through the hyperbolic, drag brings into relief what is, after all, determined only in relation to the hyperbolic: the understated, taken-for-granted quality of heterosexual performativity. At its best, then, drag can be read for the way in which hyperbolic norms are dissimulated as the heterosexual mundane. At the same time these same norms, taken not as commands to be obeyed, but as imperatives to be 'cited,' twisted, queered, brought into relief as heterosexual imperatives, are not, for that reason, necessarily subverted in the process" (*Bodies* 237).

[84] To Benjamin, both Paul Klee's *Angelus Novus* (which Benjamin calls *The Angel of History*) and the prostitute (which Benjamin calls "'the commodity and seller in one'" [qted on Buck-Morss 185]) are dialectical images. The dialectical image is any "configuration pregnant with tensions" (Benjamin, "Thesis XVII, *Theses on the Philosophy of History* 262). As Susan Buck-Morss comments, "It is a way of seeing that crystallizes antithetical elements by providing the axes for their alignment" (210).

This approach is, I argue, as productive when applied to texts written before Aphra Behn's time as when applied to the post-modern. If the "now-time" that the dialectical image has the power to blast us into is that moment in which we are, as Diamond claims, "immersed in the unrecorded history of our social existence—in the conflicting loops, freeze-frames, vanishings, fragmented memories ... that aesthetic time banishes" (*Mimesis* 147), then perhaps it is also one of the moments Butler imagines "that might disjoin the speech act from its supporting conventions such that its repetition confounds rather than consolidates its injurious efficacy" (*Speech* 20). In other words, it is the dialectical image, the *gestus*, that in a single instant can render visible the absolute contingency of the power to injure being performed at that point in time, on that point in space. In the *gestus* of Dircitus's announcement of Cleopatra's subversion of his plans, Caesar's historicity is made visible: Caesar is not at this moment subject to anyone's authority. He was once; he could have been now; and he will be again, if only to the authority of Death. To say this is also to say that in this moment Caesar's past, present, and future selves fail to cohere—he has too many (possible) names, too many possible relationships to those who share the theatrical space with him. He is an actor, a poor player, who at this single moment of his life plays many parts. The vectors become visible, and visibly fail to meet. This story is what it is, but it could have been different, and the spectators can still be. This realization is just what gestic theatre has the potential to achieve.

One of Hodgson-Wright's most interesting decisions, when she produced *Mariam*, was to construct a non-naturalistic set featuring the graves of Mariam's grandfather and brother on one side of the stage and the busts of Mark Antony, Julius Caesar, and Octavius Caesar on the other. This design certainly materialized the pervasive influence of Rome, as Hodgson-Wright intended; I also admire the way it brought the marble images of each ruler's ideal self into dialectical juxtaposition with the image of every ruler's mortal end.[85] However, I cannot see how the production entirely realized Hodgson-Wright's intent of having the same three busts, behind the same proscenium, represent the male gaze as "bearing silent witness to Herod's own power" after his return but as "impotent" in the first part of the play. To borrow a phrase from Diamond, how does the female performer in *Mariam*'s first act connote "not 'to-be-looked-at-ness'" when those busts are consistently reflecting the audience's own unchallenged, inviolable right to look at her? I am not sure that a production can do full justice to what I understand to be Cary's commitment to refusing to gratify the frame-assuming gaze, without calling into question the position of busts, audience, and frame.

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[85] All references in this paragraph are to Hodgson-Wright's commentary on the production, in the video *Women Dramatists 1550-1670: Plays in Performance (1)*. She describes the production in very similar

Both *Antonius* and *Mariam* denaturalize the act of violent fixing in place that performs the destructive objectification to which its female characters are subject, and both assert the complicity of the viewer in the deadly effects of such positioning. Inscribed in both texts are scenes designed to challenge the viewer's construction of the woman viewed with a rich multiplicity of incommensurate images. My first chapter examines Pembroke's and Cary's work in the context of visual and verbal representations of Queen Elizabeth I, and argues that both dramatists understood themselves to be witnessing and participating in a contest between two modes of representation: one depending on multiplicity of incident and the performance of artistic inadequacy, and one in which the female viewed is constructed as entirely knowable by a fixed viewer with a comprehensive gaze. In my second chapter I focus on the genre of the blazon as literary context. I argue that both Pembroke and Cary resist what they recognize as the anatomizing blazon's expression of masculine resistance to female domination, and that the action inscribed in both dramatic texts dramatizes how injurious is the demand for legibility that characterizes and constitutes the the gaze of the modern Pygmalion. In my third chapter I consider *Antonius* and *Mariam* in the context of dramatic representations of masculine *virtù* and female virtue, and I argue that a belief in the necessity and the possibility of "marble constancy"

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terms in the section "*The Tragedy of Mariam*—Stephanie Hodgson-Wright" of the article "(En)gendering Performance: Staging Plays by Early Modern Women," by Findlay, Hodgson-Wright, and Williams (290).

is both Antony's and Mariam's tragic flaw. In my final chapter I argue that Pembroke and Cary, and the queens they portray, adapt the discourse of martyrdom (as exemplified, for instance, in Pembroke's translation of Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte*) in order to perform triumphs that refuse the pornographic spectacle of a staged execution. In my conclusion, I draw on the examples of contemporary avant-garde theatre to suggest some ways of staging *Antonius* and *Mariam* that do justice to that central feature of these two closet dramas: the power of woman's speech to disrupt and remake social and physical spaces, and thereby to demythologize masculinity, authority, and progress. One could say that the publication of a closet drama itself constitutes an act both threatened and deferred. In these terms, *Antonius* and *Mariam* encode the threat of performance as well as the performance of a threat, while foregrounding the contingency of any threatened act's realization. In so doing, these scripts perform the possibility of alternative futures for their characters, their auditors, and their genre.

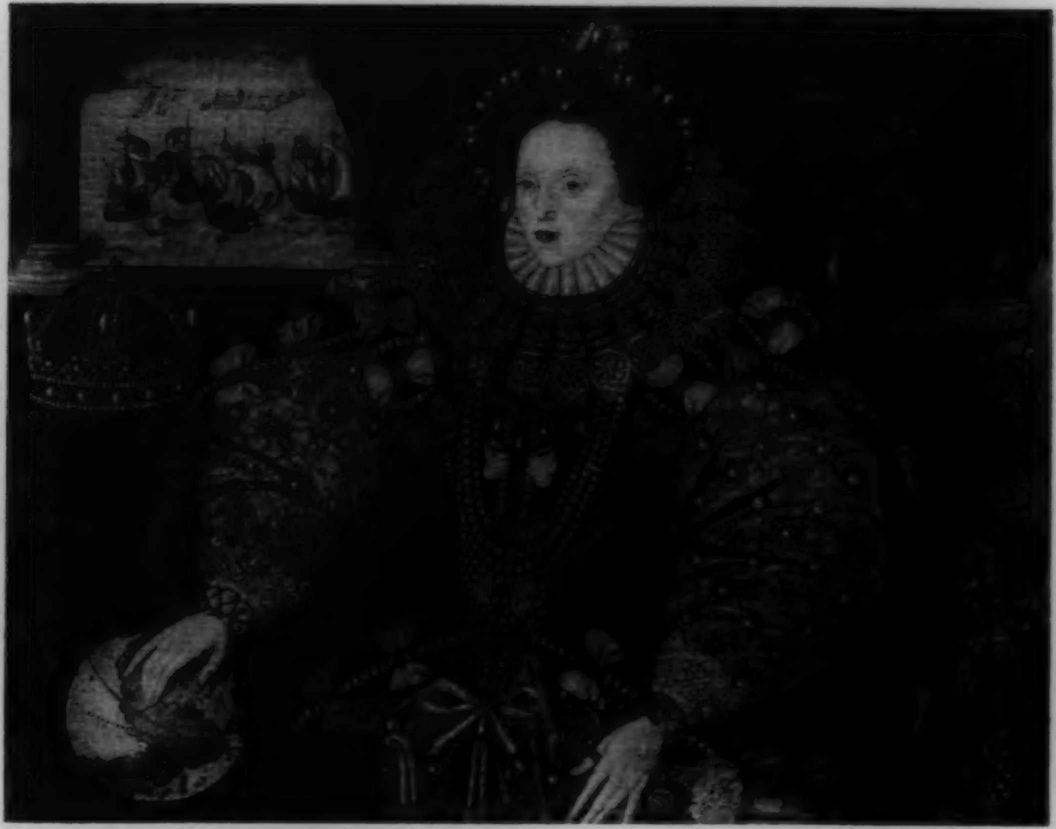

Figure 1
*The Armada Portrait* by George Gower,1588
By kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estates

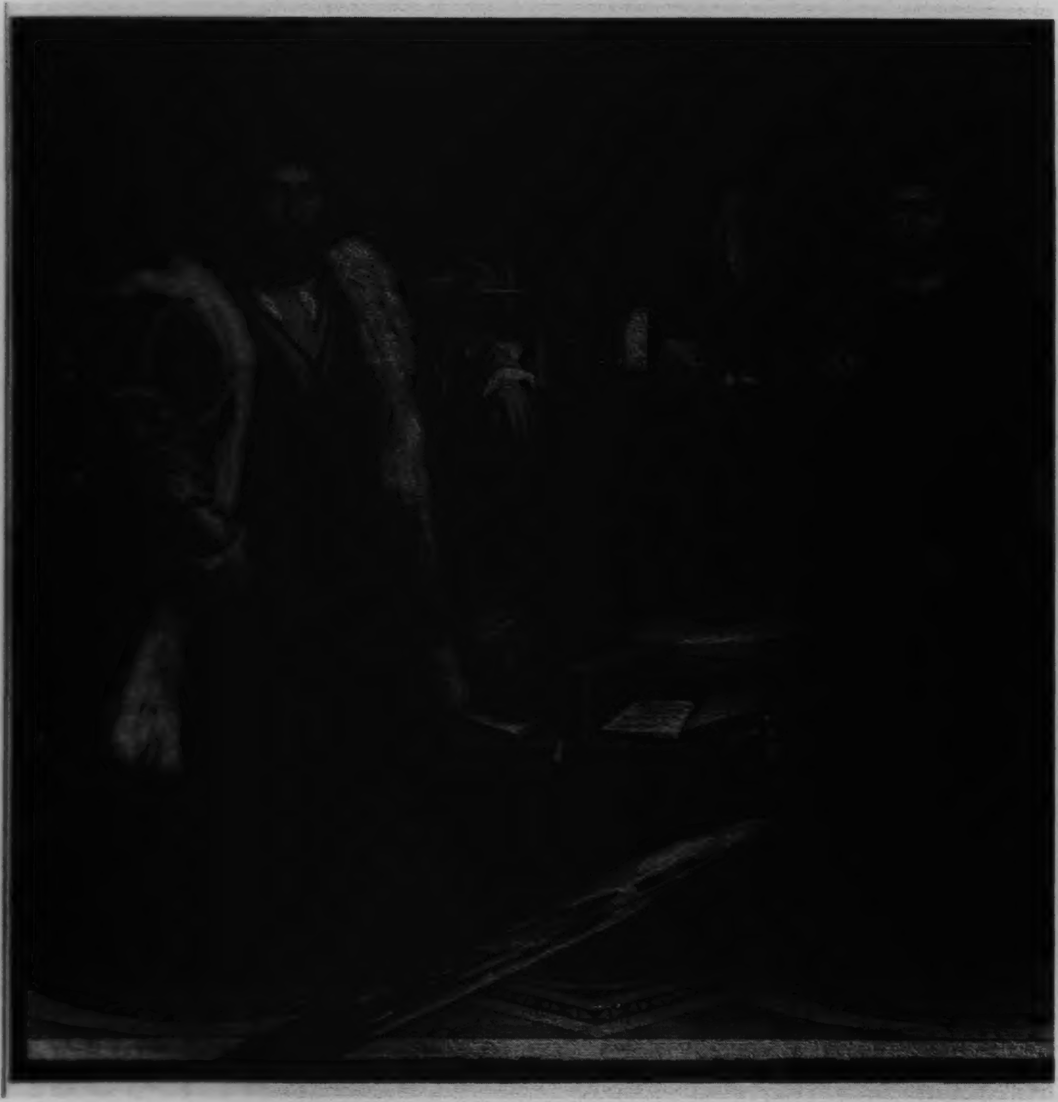

Figure 2
*The Ambassadors* by Hans Holbein, 1533
The National Gallery, London

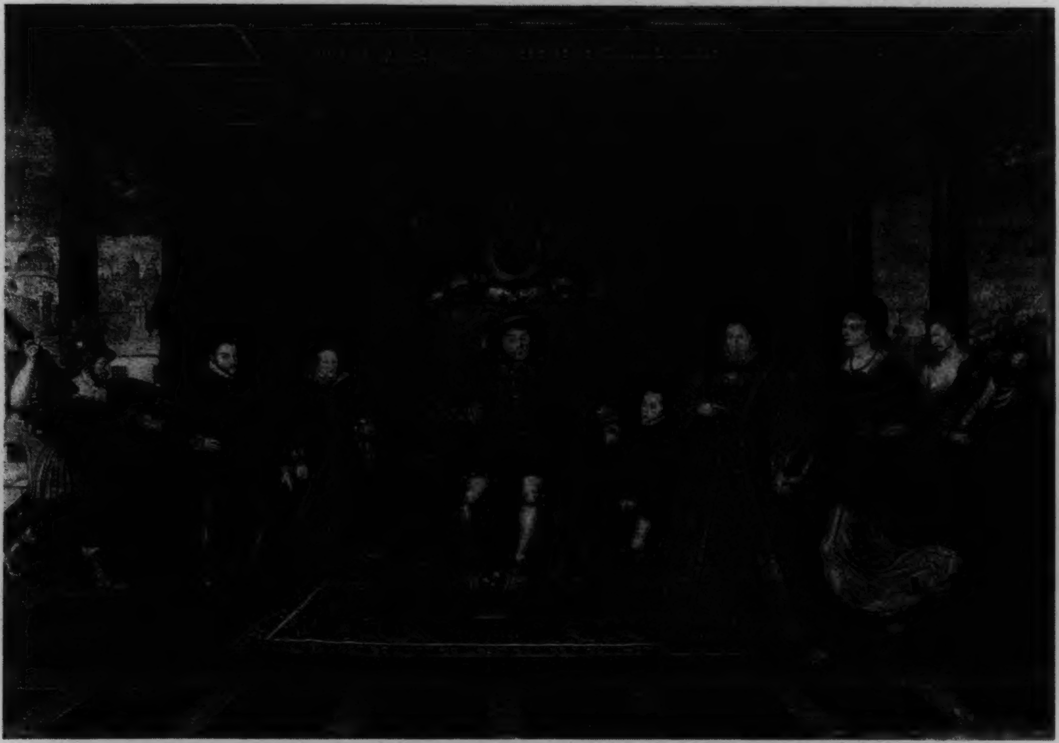

Figure 3: *The Allegory of the Tudor Succession* by Lucas de Heere, 1572
Amgueddfeydd ac Orielau Cenedlaethol Cymru. National Museums & Galleries of Wales.

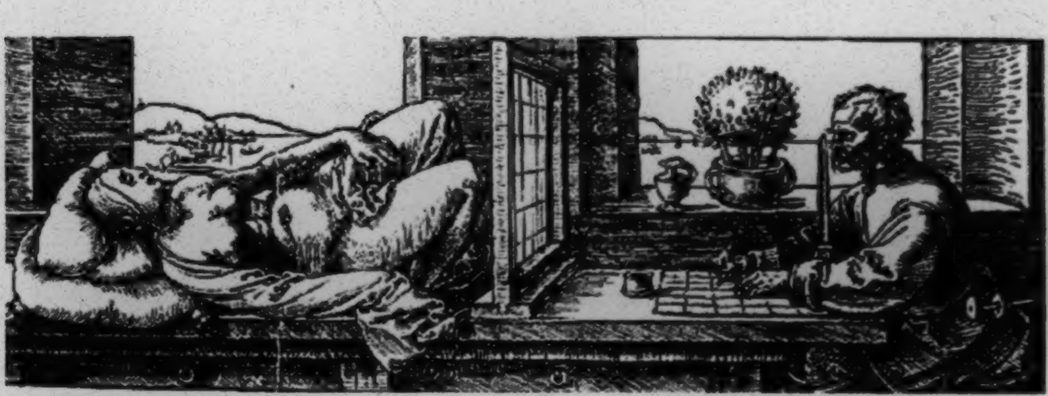

Figure 4
Albrecht Dürer, *Draftsman Drawing a Reclining Nude*, 1525

# Chapter One

## Signs of Progress:

## Representations of Womanly Perfection at the Close of Elizabeth's Reign

> **E** clipsed she is, and her bright rayes
> **L** ie vnder vailes, yet many wayes
> **I** s her faire forme reuealed;
> **S** he diuersly her selfe conueyes,
> **A** nd cannot be concealed.
> – Sir John Davies, "Hymne XIX. Of the Organs of her Minde"

### INTRODUCTION: REALITY'S SACRIFICE

For art historians attempting to construct a narrative of progress, the portraits dating from the second half of Elizabeth's reign continue to pose a challenge. Compared to those produced in the next reign, their gothic qualities are difficult to explain; such sustained refusal of the conventions of realism is often interpreted either as the result of lack of vision or as willfully regressive. Resisting this trend are a few critics, including Gaunt and, of course, that modern Queen's Champion Roy Strong, whose meticulous and ground-breaking research has done much to celebrate and elucidate the particular brilliance he observes in the portraits of Queen Elizabeth I. Yet Strong tends to avoid acknowledging the evidence that Elizabeth's programme of representation never succeeded entirely in eradicating the fashion for illusionistic representation that her emblematic style threatened, was threatened by, and eventually succumbed to.

One strategy of those who note and wish to justify realism's triumph is to elide the differences between the late Elizabethan portraits and other Tudor portraits, making the movement from Tudor to Stuart art appear tidier than it really was; this is Simon Wilson's approach, who has but one short chapter on "Tudor and Jacobean Painting" in his *British Art from Holbein to the Present Day*. According to Wilson, Elizabethan portraiture continues the "move away from naturalism and an interest in the sitter's character" (11) that began with Holbein's portrait of Jane Seymour, *c.* 1536.[86] This "trend towards a decorative, flatly patterned portrait" was as Wilson tells it "accelerated" by Scrots and Eworth, culminating in Hilliard. Howard, similarly, reads Elizabeth's late portraits as extreme examples of a general Tudor trend, which as we have seen is quite misleading (Chapter One pp.38-39). By contrast, David Howarth joins Strong and Gaunt in acknowledging the unique features of Elizabethan portraiture, but he does so only to dismiss the genre as an insignificant detour on the road to representational greatness, one having, and deserving to have, no lasting effect on future generations of artists. Howarth makes the important point that "there was perhaps more uniting the court of Henry VIII with that of Charles I than divided them; a unity of purpose symbolised by the employment of Holbein in the 1520s, and Van Dyck exactly one hundred years later" (6). He also appears less insistent than some on applying a single standard to all art, offering for instance his opinion that "the portraiture of Elizabeth is" only "inept, timid and confined … if we wish to look at pictures narrowly; that is to say, to judge the effectiveness of imagery by the standard of illusionism. But surely," he concedes, "there was something immensely daring in the way in which the armoury of sacred imagery was rifled to defend the new order of things" (106). But surely this is to damn with faint praise. Furthermore, it is Howarth who asks the rather strange question, "How then do we account for the fact that imagery of the second half of the sixteenth century addressed the mind rather than the eye?" (94). How, I would ask in response, do we account for the fact that one can call something "imagery" and not acknowledge its address to the eye? Clearly, Howarth's eye is as unsatisfied as Gaunt's by Elizabethan portraits, leading the former, ultimately, to dismiss the "aesthetic of the Elizabethan age" as "brittle," and the period itself as one of "contraction" (6). The "medievalism beneath the surface of Elizabethan art," he asserts further, "suggests that the culture of Elizabeth I cannot bear comparison with either the aggressive splendour of Henry VIII or the fastidious connoisseurship of Charles I" (7). But although opinion is divided on how much of a connoisseur was Elizabeth herself, at least some of those who helped to direct the queen's programme of representation were connoisseurs in their own right, albeit of a mode of representation that even to Jacobean eyes was archaic and increasingly unsatisfactory: these included the founder and long-time stage manager of Elizabeth's Accession Tilts, Sir Henry Lee, and his successor as court pageant poet, Sir John Davies. Unlike such critics as Howard, who considers Elizabeth's decision to abjure "the illusion of reality" as a sacrifice, Lee and Davies, like Elizabeth herself, understood that serving that particular illusion requires its own sacrifices.[87]

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[86] William describes the portrait as follows: "the pose is formal and rigid and in particular the dress and head-dress and magnificent jewellery have been treated as flat, linear patterns so that the whole work tends to take on a richly decorative and quasi-religious character" (10).

As Elizabeth was keenly aware of this fact, so too, I believe, were her contemporaries Pembroke and Cary, who also found much of great value in the particular kind of "stiff, iconic image" favoured by their queen. In the queen's late portraits we find a unique combination of features that construct Elizabeth as one who may and must move among her subjects, as one who may show herself to all but whom none may perfectly see, and as one whose virtue, instead of being compromised by her mobility, in fact depends on it. The work of both Pembroke and Cary evidences a keen appreciation of how Elizabeth's representation as unrepresentable serves the larger purpose of sustaining her physical and social mobility, of the difficulties that inhered in applying Elizabeth's strategies to the representation of women who were not themselves Virgin Queens, of the anxiety (if not outright hostility) that the queen's chosen mode of representation evoked in even such loyal servants as Lee and Davies, and of the increasing difficulty at the turn of the seventeenth century of defending a style of painting or writing that refuses to gratify the anatomizing gaze.

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[87] Most critics today credit Elizabeth with being "knowledgeable about art" (Wilson 13-14), based in part on Nicholas Hilliard's record in his *Treatise on Limning* of his conversation with the queen about the use of shadow.

## A. CONTINENCE UNCONTAINED

> Yet it is in painting [rather than sculpture] that the reduction to one moment of time and one angle of view will involve the more obvious loss. We remember that this was one of the shortcomings that Plato held against the painter, who could not represent the couch as it is but only as it appears from one side. If the painting is to make us into spectators of an imaginary scene, it has to sacrifice that diagrammatic completeness that was demanded by the earlier functions of art. – E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, p. 118

### 1. "Venus blushed for shame": chaste queen, chastened viewers

We may see some of the problems Elizabeth faced in self-representation, and some of the solutions she and her court discovered, by comparing her late portraits with earlier portraits of herself, and by comparing both with portraits of male Tudors. We have already considered George Gower's *Armada* portrait of 1588 (Fig. 1), as a representative example of those produced late in Elizabeth's reign. Its significance, however, can best be understood by locating it in a more detailed history. To begin, then, I should like briefly to compare four royal portraits of the Tudor era that predate the Armada: the ¾-length portrait of Edward VI, painted in 1546-47 just before he became king (Fig. 5), its companion, the ¾-length portrait of his sister, then Princess Elizabeth, also *c.* 1546-47 (Fig. 6),[88] the monogrammist HE's 1569 portrait of *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* (Fig.7),[89] and Gower's 1579 *Sieve* portrait of Elizabeth I, by then a queen in the twenty-first year of her reign (Fig. 8).[90] One feature these paintings all have in common is the emphasis on surface detail that we have already noted, especially the attention paid to the rich fabric and jewels the royal sitters wear, sometimes at the expense (to modern eyes) of the body wearing them. The first function of Tudor portraits was to celebrate the public role of the sitter (Howard 37), and even where we do not see family crests and other emblems of the sitter's affiliation and achievement adorning the background of a Tudor painting (or cluttering it, depending on your taste), the fabric and jewels themselves say much about the sitters' public roles. Despite the flatness of such portraits, then, they must signify position, and they do so with remarkable mimetic skill. Unfortunately, however, this skill is not readily apparent in reproductions, though the infamous flatness is. Yet in the original Tudor portraits I have been fortunate to see, the gold thread, the lace, the fur (the pearls!) are all exquisitely rendered and convincingly three-dimensional. I can hardly resist touching them to see if they are real.[91]

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[88] These two paintings are generally considered to have been painted by the same artist, and are usually but not always attributed to William Scrots.

[89] "HE" has been variously identified as Hans Eworth, Lucas de Heere, and Joris Hofnagel. See Strong (*Icon*, *Gloriana*) and Wilson for discussions of the problem.

[90] There were several *Sieve* Portraits painted between 1579 and 1583; my discussion is of the first among them. For a survey of all the *Sieve* portraits, see Strong (*Gloriana*), pp 95-108.

Differences between the four portraits are, however, equally striking. In the case of Scrots's portrait of Edward, painted just before he became king, the body itself as well as the body's ornaments are offered as important signs of status and political power; this is typical of Tudor representations of male public figures, and continues to be so right through Elizabeth's reign, and after. Early modern representations of masculine power typically associate political strength with physical and sexual strength. The norm in portraiture is what Gaunt calls "the heroic pose," featuring the right leg turned out in order to display its shapely strength, and the left leg facing forward in order, I suppose, to display the painter's skill in foreshortening. We see this pose in, for example, Nicholas Hilliard's portrait of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, as Queen's Champion (*c.* 1590), William Larkin's (attr.) portrait of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham (*c.* 1616), and Marcus Gheeraerts's 1594 portrait of Captain Thomas Lee (Figures 9, 10 and 11).[92] This last painting (whose subject, we may note, was a cousin of Elizabeth Cary's) further emphasizes the subject's masculinity by showing him half-naked, celebrating the physical strength that is the basis of his heroism.[93] However, Edward is not just any manly hero; he is the heir to the Tudor throne. And so, adorned with the ostrich plumes of the Prince of Wales, this child (of only eight or nine years) here imitates his famous father's world- and woman-straddling stance,[94] his hand guiding our eye to the pathetically prominent codpiece and its metonymic companion, the dagger.[95] In order to further emphasize Edward's active power in the world, the artist supplements the essential Tudor iconography with the optional (but increasingly influential) technique of single-point perspective. But it is less important here than it will be to the Stuarts that the entire world of the picture be contained within one authoritative frame. In fact, in a more subtle fashion than Holbein's *Ambassadors* (Fig. 3) or Scrots's anamorphic portrait of *Edward VI* does, this portrait too demonstrates the artist's skill in the art of perspective while insisting that the viewer imagine occupying multiple points of view and recognize the inadequacy of his own. The landscape of which Edward is master lies stretched out on the other side of the window to his right, offering itself to his regal view (and, we assume, to the stride of his powerful legs). It is clear from Edward's position that he need only turn his head for his eyes to be at the centre of the window's opening; strong diagonals extending from the right-hand side of the window's frame hint at the existence of a single vanishing point that is in line with Edward's eyes. However, if it exists, from our eyes it remains concealed. The painter shows us only the lower right-hand corner of the window, and unlike Edward we do not have enough information for our eyes to be convinced that a coherent space extends obliquely to our left. The several quasi-orthogonals on the right do not all obviously point towards a common end, and we can see none of the orthogonals pointing from the left that would complete the illusion. Rather, in a fashion that I find common to both Henrician and Elizabethan portraits, the artist here deploys the techniques of perspective selectively in order to display his skill (a central objective of the Mannerist style, of course), but also to humble and unsettle the viewer. According to Claudio Guillen, perspective as an artistic convention assumes that "the unified space of a painting depends on the fiction of the single beholder," and further assumes that "the point of view of this beholder belongs to a single, immobile eye" (qtd in Pomeroy 47). One effect of this painting may be to remind anyone viewing it just how much of a fiction "the single beholder" is, and how dependent the viewer's enjoyment of that fiction is on the cooperation of the artist. However, such an effect is likely to be subtle; this painting does not jar as others do. For also typical of Tudor portraits is the subsidiary role perspective plays here in representing the power of the sitter.[96] The primary location of potency is not, in this sign system, the eyes, and vanishing points are not an urgent concern; the single point to which most of the lines in this painting draw the viewer's eye is, I would suggest, still that astonishing codpiece.

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[91] The postcards sold in art gallery gift shops, however, present no comparable temptation.
[92] Another example is William Larkin's (attr.) 1613 portrait of Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset.
[93] Howard elaborates: "His naked legs are usually said to be his means of traversing the peat bogs of Ireland .... What they also tell us however is something about the way in which, for some centuries before our own, the male leg was made into a fetish, a sign of action and of skill at horsemanship, in much the same way that the female leg has been fetishised as a sexual signal in the twentieth century" (44).

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[94] I refer, of course, to that portrayed in Holbein's frequently copied *Henry VIII and Family*, 1537 (of which a cartoon fragment now remains). Although we do not see his feet in this ¾ view, in the official portrait of Edward as king painted by William Scrots *c.* 1550, his potential to imitate his father is fully realized, and the complete stance of Henry VIII is reproduced; the dagger is also supplemented with a sword. Susan Foister points out that, in the 1546-47 portrait discussed here, the column behind Edward "includes a roundel at the base of the column, on which is shown in sculpted form the figure of Marcus Curtius on horseback. … The figure of the Roman encourages the viewer to draw an analogy between Marcus Curtius, the most precious possession of the Romans, and the young prince, the most precious possession of the Britons and, it is implied, worthy to be compared with the heroes of ancient Rome" (163-64).

[95] "The prominence and ample proportions of the king's codpiece" was "a recurrent feature of Henry's personal iconography" (Montrose 312).

The art of perspective, however, is in some ways even less important a feature of this painting's companion, "a picture of Elizabeth as the young and virtuous bluestocking of whom her tutor Roger Ascham was so justly proud" (Strong, *Gloriana* 9). Although both her body and the space she stands in appear three-dimensional, posing no challenge to the viewer's illusion of mastery (the portrait, after all, was likely intended as a gift to Edward), Elizabeth's public role—*i.e.* her royal status—is signified primarily by the rich fabric and jewels she wears. Edward VI's inventory of 1547 describes the painting as "'a table with the picture of the ladye Elizabeth her grace with a booke in her hande her gowne like crymsen clothe of golde with works,'" emphasizing the details of the fabric almost as precisely as if inventorying the valuable materials themselves (qtd in Strong, *Gloriana* 52). As a marriageable daughter of the house of Tudor the Elizabeth depicted here has value and may be put into circulation, but her own free circulation through physical space is not to be imagined. There is no window on the outside world to tempt her attention or invite her possession; rather, the artist represents Princess Elizabeth as having no access to the outside world, or interest in it; and her sexual capacity is not among those features we are invited to admire. Nor does her hand (God forbid) guide our eyes to a codpiece. Instead—and in much the same location—we see a book, sign of her devotion to pleasures that do not belong to either the world or the flesh.[97] We cannot, of course, see her legs.[98]

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[96] For Vasari, who was, according to James Emlin, a seminal influence on Mannerism, "'perspective was an embellishment of paintings, one of a number of praiseworthy accomplishments involving some degree of *difficulta*. As we know from a letter to Martino Bassi, Vassari was willing to forego perspectival naturalism altogether for a startling or pleasing effect. He had no conceptual hierarchy for his critical terms such as *prospettiva*, *chiaroscuro*, manner, grace, and composition: aesthetically, they were 'visual figures,' analogues of the rhetorical figures that ornament speech; ontologically, they competed as accomplishments worthy of praise" (Emlin qtd in Semler 37-38).

We cannot see Elizabeth's legs in the 1569 portrait *Queen Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses*, either, though the shapely and active limbs of all three goddesses are strongly emphasized. In fact, here we have much less of a sense of the three-dimensional body underneath the queen's clothing than we do in Scrots's portrait, but this must be attributed to the fact that Elizabeth had, by the time the painting was made, become actively involved in decisions about the style and the programmatic content of her portraits, rather than to any lack of skill or respect for the kind of art that contemporary eyes tend to approve. HE's skills in rendering three-dimensional bodies and space is indisputable, and the geometrical simplicity of Elizabeth's figure is clearly a choice, one made in deference to the queen's own will. Elizabeth Pomeroy describes the two different styles of representing female figures juxtaposed in this painting:

> The supple handling of drapery and gesture among the goddesses makes this painting unusual in mid-century Tudor art. At the same time, the Queen and her ladies show off the finely detailed and simple bell-shapes and triangles of Elizabethan costume. Palace arches and steps are accurate in perspective and careful in shadowing. (31)

*Queen Elizabeth and the Three Goddess* was painted some years after "the 1563 draft proclamation expressing official dismay over the many unseemly portraits of the Queen" (Pomeroy 33), and we can see the style and programmatic content of her later portraits being worked out here, particularly the flat, iconic representations of the queen and the allegorical elements. The painting almost certainly had a direct influence on later officially approved portraits of the queen: "The position it was accorded on the walls of Whitehall, where it was to be seen by all visitors to the palace, must have contributed to the increasing frequency of allegorical and emblematic elements—totally absent before 1569—as a feature of royal portraiture" (Strong, *Gloriana* 69). However, it cannot be said to have contributed to the increasing frequency of luscious female limbs appearing in approved royal portraits, for this is the only one in which that particular element makes its appearance.

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[97] It is also possible, though I would not insist on the point, that the painting's style of modest realism may have been a gesture of respect for the budding iconoclasm of its intended recipient, Prince Edward (see Diarmaid MacCullogh).

[98] On Howarth's reading, the figure in this painting is an "elegant, nubile figure[,] … an attractive adolescent on the verge of her sexual potential" (102). However, his conclusion that this "flesh and blood" representation "is the most sympathetic portrait of her" probably says more about Howarth's sympathies than the artist's (102).

Certainly the painting predates the institution of the Accession Day Tilts in 1570 or 1571, which had a significant influence on the development of Elizabeth's programme of representation.[99] It is also "the earliest of the allegorical paintings of Elizabeth," and as such "is understandably tentative" (Strong, *Gloriana* 65). But we should also consider the strong possibility that, despite its place of honour at Whitehall, the portrait may not have represented Elizabeth's best (however "tentative") ideas, even at the time, for although I do not question its undoubted influence on later paintings, the directions this influence was allowed to take appear to have been strictly circumscribed. On Strong's reading of the evidence, the portrait "cannot have been commissioned by the Queen herself. It must have been presented to her" (*Gloriana* 69). This being the case, the portrait must also (a point that, characteristically, Strong does not pursue) be read in the context of that well-established Renaissance tradition of influence and manipulation through flattery. There have been other programmes besides Elizabeth's at work here. The spatial coherence of the portrait and the goddesses' realistic exposed flesh are not designed to unsettle a male viewer (unless pleasantly, perhaps). And the association of Elizabeth with the goddesses has implications that are, I think, a bit more problematic than Pomeroy recognizes, though her reading of the portrait is astute: whereas "the goddesses are solidly alive, with their original pagan attributes, … they are also personifications of Elizabeth's qualities, externalized like pageant figures. Her symbolic routing of them does not mean their banishment but rather her supremacy in their traditional qualities" (32). This interpretation is consistent with the lines originally accompanying the portrait, which directed viewers in how to read the painted allegory of the portrait; a visitor to Whitehall in 1600 recorded that, at the time, beneath this picture were lines in Latin which Strong (who also records the original Latin in full) translates as follows:

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[99] "The ceremonies of adoration developed slowly during the first half of Elizabeth's reign. They were of course evident at its beginning, but with Sir Henry Lee's devising of the Accession Day Tilts in 1571 the cult began to grow into a distinctive pattern, and by the time of Anjou's visits in 1579-81 the full pageantry and symbolism of the Elizabethan tournaments could be displayed. The symbolic apparatus of royal portraiture developed at about the same time" (Penry Williams 425).

> Pallas was keen of brain, Juno was queen of might,[100]
> The rosy face of Venus was in beauty shining bright,
> Elizabeth then came
> And, overwhelmed, Queen Juno took to flight;
> Pallas was silenced; Venus blushed for shame. (*Gloriana* 65)

Although these lines emphasize the rout, the reason for it that Pomeroy identifies—Elizabeth's general superiority—is certainly implied. Thus, as Pomeroy argues, the painting identifies Elizabeth with the three goddesses across from her at least as much as it distinguishes her from them. And it may have been appropriate to represent one of "Elizabeth's qualities" by a naked Venus in "a celebration not of a triumphant virgin queen but of a ruler who was still expected to marry," as Elizabeth was in 1569 (Strong, *Gloriana* 65). But the physical is clearly emphasized at the expense of the political in this depiction of what I am tempted to call "the queen's four bodies." We will not see such sights again in officially approved portraits. Nor will we see such a strict division between the mobility of the goddesses on the one hand and the sheltered stillness of the queen on the other hand. She was not going to make her triumph through the world by holding an apple.

A sieve, on the other hand, just might do the trick. By the time George Gower painted the 1579 *Sieve* portrait, Elizabeth had developed some of her most effective strategies for asserting mobility without virility, claiming public virtue but not masculine *virtù*. Not just a development of what had gone before, in my view these strategies involved rejecting many of the features found in the three portraits we have just considered. The 1579 *Sieve* portrait was the first to depict either the map, the globe, or the sieve as attributes of Elizabeth, all of which were to figure prominently in her iconography, and were replicated in numerous portraits in subsequent years (Strong, *Gloriana* 42). Here, Elizabeth's power to rule is to be signified neither by a powerful physique nor a masterful gaze.[101] Here, there is neither curtained backdrop nor palace walls to fix the queen in any particular spot, indoors or out, nor any loose female limbs in view of any sort. Rather, the realm she rules over is depicted in the map on the globe in the upper left corner of the portrait; the globe is widely recognized to signify Elizabeth's imperial aspirations. Of particular importance to this project, however, is that instead of a book, or an apple—or a codpiece—Elizabeth here sports a sieve, emblem of a miraculously unconventional virginity that constitutes both her virtue and her right to rule. The switch from both book to apple to sieve is important, because of these three only this new emblem constructs Elizabeth as absolutely chaste while constructing this chastity as necessarily public. "The sieve is the attribute of the Roman Vestal Virgin, Tuccia, who, on being accused of impurity, filled a sieve with water from the River Tiber and carried it without spilling one drop to the Temple" (Strong, *Gloriana* 96), and Tuccia owed her considerable renown in the Renaissance to the fact that Petrarch features her in his immensely popular *Triumph of Chastity*.[102] In the first English translation of *I Trionfi* (1555), Henry Parker Lord Morley gives her story thus:[103]

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[100] According to the original Latin, "*Juno potens sceptis*," Juno's "might" is political, not physical. Nevertheless, there are those legs.

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[101] The extent of Elizabeth's involvement in the design of the *Sieve* portraits has been questioned by Susan Doran, who asserts that "Elizabeth herself did not construct it [the sieve imagery]; the patrons of these early representations of the Virgin Queen were some of her subjects who opposed the French match" between Elizabeth and the Duke of Alençon (37). Doran makes a strong case for her argument that "the role of the Privy Council rather than the attitude of the queen" was "crucial to the outcome" of this courtship (41), and it must be acknowledged that Sir Christopher Hatton, who was a "leading opponent" of the Alençon match (Doran 49), is closely associated with the Cornelius Ketel *Sieve* portrait, *c.* 1580-83 (Strong, *Gloriana* 101-02). However, this evidence must be balanced by the facts that the first *Sieve* portrait (1579) was painted by George Gower, whom Elizabeth favoured with the powerful post of Serjeant Painter in 1581, and that since 1563 Elizabeth had been heavily involved in controlling and directing the programme of her representation (Strong, *Gloriana* 12-15). Doran does not take up the question of how, specifically, the *Sieve* portraits may have come to be designed or commissioned; nor does she discuss the specific role played by portraiture in the opposition performed by Elizabeth's various subjects. (For such a discussion of a different painting, *Edward VI and the Pope*, *c.* 1570, one may refer to Margaret Aston's book, *The King's Bedpost*).

Yet amonge other there sawe I more
The meke vyrgyn of Vesta (there she was)
That proved hyr chastitie by such a case
She bare fayre water in a large Seve,
Wherby she voyded all and yll repreve. (222-26)

Although Morley's translation was not reprinted, *I Trionfi* were well known in England in both Italian editions and French translations. According to D. D. Carnicelli, Roger Ascham complained that "Italianate Englishmen 'have in more reverence the triumphes of Petrarche than the Genesis of Moses" (vii). But even Ascham set his pupil, the future Queen Elizabeth, to translating the first ninety lines of Petrarch's *Triumph of Eternity*. Furthermore, the iconography of the *Trionfi* (or, more accurately, the iconography that fourteenth-century artists developed in their renditions of the *Trionfi*) "pervaded virtually all areas of the graphic arts" (Carnicelli 39). An "enormous number of paintings, frescoes, miniatures, tapestries, faiences, enamels, and medals were based wholly or in part on the *Trionfi*, and a great many prominent artists—Mantegna, Siognorelli, and Titian among them—turned to the Trionfi for inspiration" (Carnicelli 38). English artists and patrons were no different: Carnicelli comments that "England is extraordinarily rich in such art, and the major museums of that country offer a wealth of examples of works of art based on these themes" (49). Sidney, Shakespeare, and Spenser all show the influence of the *Trionfi* in their work (Carnicelli 56-67). Furthermore, although "illustrators took from Petrarch's poem little more than the titles of individual trionfi and the allegorical figures" (Carnicelli 39), their collective method was self-consistent, and so it is highly likely that the example Yates provides in *Astraea*, a *Triumph of Chastity* by Jacopo del Sellaio, currently in the Museo Bandini, Fiesole, is representative of what the English would have been familiar with from the graphic art of the period.[104] In Sellaio's work, just as in Petrarch's poem, Tuccia is foregrounded, quite literally; she is front and centre, and immediately recognizable by the huge sieve she carries before her. Bound Cupid's feet are just at her head.

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[102] And hence by that association also emblematic of the public performance of virtuous authority.
[103] Morley's *Tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke* was printed between 1553 and 1556, but written most probably in 1536-37 (Carnicelli 11).

But Tuccia, despite her prominence, is still only one of many exemplary women named in Petrarch's poem, including Lucretia, Penelope, and other figures both famous and obscure. So why choose Tuccia as Elizabeth's alter ego? I would point out that this particular virgin proves her virtue by the audacious act of leaving the Temple of Vesta—normally a move that in itself would call her chastity into question. In this case, however, Tuccia's public activity constitutes the performance and proof of her virtue and so, by extension, does Elizabeth's. With the sieve, Elizabeth does not need to show steely strength, or a long leg (or any other appendage) in order to be read as a public figure; her mobility does not depend on virile agility. In addition, her chastity is no longer that of the cloistered contemplative princess; it is a continence uncontained.[105]

The 1579 *Sieve* portrait also, I believe, announces Elizabeth's commitment to representing herself as unrepresentable and, consequently, unknowable. The painting's lack of depth and refusal to cohere into a single three-dimensional space functions to unsettle the viewer much as the *Armada* portrait does. There, we may recall, this queen who transcends both space and time is fabulously unfixed, her glory the same from any and every point of view, whereas the viewer cannot imagine himself occupying the stable position of mastery that is part of the illusion created by single-point perspective. The *Sieve* portrait, furthermore, exemplifies (and may have inaugurated) a key feature of the visual and verbal representations of Elizabeth in the last decades of her reign, namely, the way in which her representation as unrepresentable serves the larger purpose of sustaining her mobility. The globe's motto is "*Tutto vedo & molto mancha*": I see everything and much is missing.[106] This ambiguous statement has several readings, depending on whom we understand to be the speaker. First, since it accompanies the globe, image of the earth on which Elizabeth is engaged in marking out an empire, the motto can be read as a statement of the queen's ambition: she sees all, and she sees that much is missing from the empire; much is missing from Elizabeth's control, from England's sway.[107] This is the reading Strong favours, who asserts that "the globe and the motto … elaborate the imperial aspect of this Roman Vestal Virgin," and it is a popular one (*Gloriana* 98). Pomeroy suggests that "this inscription may hint at the diplomatic networks set up by Elizabeth for political and security reasons. On a more abstract plane, the text may refer to a kind of manifest destiny, not so much for territory as for influence" (52). Isobel Grundy points out that the motto also suggests dissatisfaction.[108] Accordingly, "much is missing" may be a veiled rebuke or even a threat to those subjects who have failed to please their ruler with their efforts to realize her ambition. Without disagreeing with any of these illuminating readings, however, I would add that, in its very ambiguity, the motto also contains a caution to the reader of this portrait, for it emphasizes the gap between seeing and owning, the viewer's failure of mastery of the viewed.

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[104] "For reasons unknown to us, the methods of the medieval and Renaissance artists who illustrated the *Trionfi* became crystallized as early as the late fourteenth century and remained substantially unchanged for some wo hundred years. The conventional illustrations of the *Trionfi* depict the six triumphs described in Petrarch's poem, but, with the exception of the first triumph, the details of the illustrations have virtually nothing to do with the contents of the poem" (Carnicelli 38).

[105] In an astute reading of the *Armada* portrait, Louis Adrian Montrose draws our attention to what he calls the "demure iconography of Elizabeth's virgin-knot": "In the appropriate spot, at the apex of the inverted triangle formed by her stomacher, the beholder's attention is drawn to an ostentatious bow. Resting upon it are a rich jewel in an elaborate setting and a large teardrop pearl pendant, both of which are attached to a girdle that is also composed of jewels and pearls" (315). At first glance this symbol may seem much more conventional than Tuccia's sieve. However, Montrose also argues compellingly that Elizabeth's physical containment figures and helps to explain England's successful self-containment in the face of the Armada's assault, and based on this reading I would point out that the association the portrait makes between the two "containments" also helps to figure Elizabeth's chastity as martial—not entirely "demure," in other words. We may also note that to be "self-contained" is not at all the same thing as to be confined.

We may therefore read the motto as a warning to the viewer analogous to the silent warning provided by the anamorphic death's head in Holbein's *Ambassadors* (Fig. 2): much that is crucially important is inaccessible to mortal sight. Quite unlike Holbein's death's head, however, as much sign of the artist's virtuoso ability as of the viewer's limitations, the *Sieve* portrait's motto also offers itself as a confession of humble inadequacy on the part of the painter. He sees all aspects of Elizabeth, but confesses that she transcends all representations. Much seventeenth-century visual art strives to reduce that gap between what is seen and what is true; visual and verbal representations of Elizabeth's successor, James I, for instance, often suggest that where he, the modern Solomon, is concerned, no gap exists.[109] Widening that gap, however, is something that, for some early modern women including Elizabeth, is central to any effort to create a space in which one may move freely.[110]

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[106] Strong translates it less accurately as "I see everything but much is missing" (*Gloriana* 98). This error seems odd considering the ampersand.

[107] Empire-building and exploration, of course, went hand in hand, so we can also read this motto as a reminder of the importance of naming to knowing: insofar as what one sees remains unknown, unmapped, or unnamed, it is missing in the sense of being unavailable to consciousness, unassimilable by existing schema; it has not been called into being.

[108] Personal correspondence, June, 2005.

### 2. "See where she comes": depicting the impossible scene

> It falls me here to write of Chastity,
> That fairest vertue, farre aboue the rest;
> For which what needs me fetch from *Faery*
> Forreine ensamples, it to haue exprest? (*FQ* III Proem 1.1-4)

The 1579 *Sieve* and the *Armada* portraits are both visual texts that represent Elizabeth as a public figure who moves actively within social and physical space, while de-emphasizing the materiality of her body. Certain verbal representations of Elizabeth produced at the end of the sixteenth century also tend to offer a proliferation of images that insists on the inadequacy of the single, coherent scenic image; indeed, in both visual and verbal texts our full appreciation of Elizabeth's glory often depends on the artist's failure to construct a coherent scene—or rather it depends on the artist's performance of failure. One striking example of such a text is John Bennet's treatment of the queen's idealized progress in his five-part madrigal, "All Creatures Now," one of a collection of twenty-six madrigals by several authors compiled and published by

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[109] See, for instance, James I's "Advertisement to the Reader" in *The True Law of Free Monarchies*, in which he makes an assertion in spirit quite contrary to that which we find on the 1579 *Sieve* portrait: "It may be ye miss many things that ye look for in it [the text to follow]. But for excuse thereof, consider rightly that I only lay down herein the true grounds to teach you the right way, without wasting time upon refuting the adversaries" (49). Although we may think much is missing, in his words, and in him, we actually see all. As Howarth points out, James loved to play a modern-day Solomon, insisting on the identity of *rex* and *lex* (38).

[110] As it is today for many practitioners of post-modern feminist theatre.

Thomas Morley in 1601. Here, the scene's refusal to cohere serves imperfectly to allay the anxieties evoked by the arrival of an actively triumphant woman, as Bennet's lyrics invite the listener to construct in his imagination an Oriana who must be acknowledged but cannot be pinned down:

> All cre'tures now are merry, merry, minded,
> The shepherds daughters playing,
> The Nimphes are Fa la laing,
> Yond bugle was well winded,
> At Orianaes presence each thing smileth,
> The flowers themselues discouer,
> Birds ouer hir do houer.
> Musicke the time beguileth
> See wher she comes, with flowry garlands crowned,
> Queene of all queens renowned.
> Then sang the shepherds & Nimphes of *Diana*,
> Long liue faire *Oriana*.[111]

Repeatedly, the lyrics insist we imagine a scene of universal merriment, while thwarting—or, rather, deferring—its realization, both in place and time. Despite the deictic "now," the first line immediately poses a problem for the scenically inclined, for Bennet modifies his first concrete noun, "cre'tures," with "all," instead of identifying or locating his creatures with, let us say, a demonstrative adjective. "All cre'tures" cannot possibly exist in any one particular here and now. The second deictic of the piece, "Yond," points to a bugle at some distance, but the lyrics construct no "here" from which to point over "there." Again, Bennet provides no deictic, no "this" or "that" to locate us. Our difficulties are further compounded by the scarcity of personal pronouns or possessive adjectives in the madrigal. There is no "we," no "you," for the listener to identify with; there is only "she" among "all creatures." We hear the command, to "See wher she comes," but cannot tell to whom the command is directed. Are we to identify with the shepherds—is it to them that the imperative is addressed? If not, to whom? The nymphs? Everyone, that is, "all cre'tures"? How are we to picture Oriana's progress?

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[111] All the madrigals in Morley's collection end with the same rhyming couplet.

Despite or because of the many details it provides, then, Bennet's text as a whole answers fewer questions than it raises. It actually invites us to imagine seeing the queen from at least three points of view simultaneously: the flowers at her feet, discovering themselves at her "presence"; the birds hovering overhead; and those who watch her arrival, on the same level but at an unspecified distance. Each of these proferred points of view is equally supported by the one concrete detail of Oriana's appearance that the lyrics provide: the "flowery garlands" with which she is "crowned." Like the ornate fabric and jewels emphasized by Tudor portraits, that flowery crown would be visible and easily recognizable both to the birds overhead, and to the nymphs hampered by distance, in a way that the features of a face, for instance, might not. In fact, Oriana's face and body themselves are not described at all. What, exactly, other than the garlands, do we see when we "See where she comes," and can we see any better once she arrives? The only creatures whose physical place relative to the queen is specified are the birds, who "ouer her do houer." For this reason, we might be tempted to imagine viewing the queen's arrival from that point of view. But to do so requires that we imagine ourselves doing what no human being can do (or at least what no human being with access only to sixteenth-century technology could do), namely, hover. If we could hover, we would be in constant motion, moving from one place to another yet remaining motionless relative to the queen as she moved past the discovering flowers. We would view the queen's crown but not her body, ourselves completely unsettled and unfixed, even while transfixed with delight.[112]

On one reading, then, the queen constructed by these lyrics invites all eyes, and rewards all viewers with a sight of her readable glory. There is nowhere her presence may not be felt; she holds and controls all gazes, all imaginations. On another reading, however, these lyrics perform our failure to see the queen. In their suggestion of multiple points of view and their emphasis on a consistently recognizable, non-corporeal, feature, the lyrics de-emphasize Oriana's physicality, suggest her omnipresence, and humble her audience, poor creatures all of them, hampered as Oriana is not by the limitations of space and time. Despite his title's emphasis on the present moment, Bennet's Oriana is as unfixed in time as she is in space, at once present (although we cannot be sure where), remembered, and anticipated. "The Nimphes [here and now, one presumes,] are Fa la laing," but while noting the nymphs we also note that "Yond bugle" [where?] was well winded [but when?]," a jarring shift from present tense to past. The tense shifts back to the present indicative after this, with all four lines of the next quatrain ending in verbs: *smileth, discouer, houer, beguileth.* Because the actions recorded (smiling, discovering, hovering) are responses to "Oriana's presence," we must assume the queen is already among the merry-makers. But the final quatrain disrupts any coherent scene that the list of present tense verbs may have tempted us to construct in our imagination, for the imperative, "See where she comes," commands us to mark Oriana's imminent approach. Is her presence, then, still in the future? Is she here already, or is she just arriving? Beguiling the time, indeed![113] Finally, all such debates are rendered moot by the concluding couplet's insistance that the welcome spectacle has already taken place some time in the past: "Then sang the shepherds." How would you paint, or stage, that which "All Creatures Now" describes? The lyrics resist our attempts to answer such a question; the language fails to construct either a coherent scene or a coherent viewer. In the end, we find we cannot do what the author commands: we cannot "See wher she comes."

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[112] To quote from the epigraph to this chapter, a verse from Sir John Davies' *Hymnes*, "Eclipsed she is" even as she "herself conveyes" through the place of her arrival.

If Bennet's language is performative, if the function of his deictics is to call into being an "I-here-now" by the very process of describing it (Serpieri 12), then this performance is, in Austin's terms, infelicitous. The artist appears to lack the authority—the skill, in this case—to realize the effect of his act of command. But that, as I have suggested earlier, is rather the point. In choosing himself not to assume a position of mastery, the artist challenges the viewer—or listener—to be aware of his own desire for such a position, while constructing the queen herself as uncontainable, much as the *Sieve* and *Armada* portraits do. We have direct evidence, in the case of Pembroke, that she valued this particular strategy, for the performance of artistic inadequacy is central to the praise of Elizabeth that Pembroke performs in her poem, "A Dialogue betweene Two Shepheards, Thenot, and Piers, in Praise of Astrea" (*c.* 1599).[114] Here Pembroke makes explicit the pride and presumption attendant upon certain representational modes, and the consequent importance of resisting them. "Astrea" is also important to this project because it uses the same strategy we find in those passages in *Antonius* and *Mariam* which I have earlier identified as problematic:[115] a dialogue between two people, one of whom is trying to describe an absent queen, the other one of whom resists accepting the description in various ways.

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[113] In addition to the past tense of the final, prescribed couplet ("Then sang the shepherds and nymphs,") Bennet's musical setting invites us to hear the lyrics as "Yond bugle was well winded at Oriana's presence," which further resists any effort to settle whether "all creatures" are merry "now" because of the queen's current, anticipated, or remembered "presence" among them.

I shall return to this particular problem in my final chapter, but for now let us compare "All Creatures Now" with the fifth and central stanza of "Astrea," in which Thenot attempts to use the trope of the queen's progress:

> *Then.* Soone as ASTREA shewes her face,
> Strait every ill avoides the place,
> And every good aboundeth.
> *Piers.* Nay long before her face doth showe,
> The last doth come, the first doth goe,
> How lowde this lie resoundeth! (25-30)

Much as Bennet's lyrics do, Pembroke's dialogue in this stanza invites us to imagine the queen's arrival, but then insists that we not identify it as a moment in a coherent narrative. The surface explanation is the one Piers offers, that "Astrea's Spring is eternal" (42): she who is the beginning and the end simply cannot be imagined arriving. Because Astrea transcends time, furthermore, what "her face doth showe" cannot be allowed to be important. Indeed, "Astrea," like "All Creatures Now," contains no literal physical descriptions of the queen. A good artist must have the humility to know that his eyes may deceive him.

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[114] See Hannay *et al* (p. 82) for a discussion of the dating of this poem.
[115] The descriptions of Cleopatra's raising Antony into the monument and of Mariam's execution (see Introduction).

As Hannay *et al* point out, Pembroke's treatment of the question of whether any artist is capable of adequately representing the queen's glories may be profitably compared with Sir John Davies's "Hymne XII. To her Picture," which I here quote in full:

> **E** xtreame was his Audacitie;
> **L** ittle his Skill that finisht thee,
> **I** am asham'd and Sorry,
> **S** o dull her counterfait should be,
> **A** nd she so full of glory.
>
> **B** ut here are colours red and white
> **E** ach lyne, and each proportion right
> **T** hese Lynes, this red, and whitenesse
> **H** auve wanting yet a life and light,
> **A** Maiestie, and brightnesse.
>
> **R** ude counterfait, I then did erre,
> **E** uen now, when I would needes inferre,
> **G** reat boldnesse in thy maker:
> **I** did mistake, he was not bold;
> **N** or durst his eyes her eyes behold;
> **A** nd this made him mistake her.

This "Hymne" is one of twenty-six *Hymnes of Astraea in Acrosticke Verse* (1599), and for many reasons a comparison between it and Pembroke's work is a valuable exercise. Written at about the same time as Pembroke's "Astrea," Davies's *Hymnes to Astraea* state his poetics quite explicitly. The poet was also associated with some of the same people as Pembroke and Cary, though not as closely as some critics say, who often mistake him for his contemporary, the poet and writing master John Davies of Hereford.[116] Sir John Davies was presented to the queen in 1594 by

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[116] It was John Davies of Hereford—never knighted—who served for some time as secretary to Pembroke's husband, the second Earl of Pembroke, and as tutor (writing teacher, probably) to Elizabeth Tanfield (later Cary). Scholars since at least Frances Yates have been confusing or conflating the two; Yates (1952) attributes the *Hymnes of Astraea* to "Sir John Davies of Hereford" (218), and Hannay likewise conflates them (*Phoenix* 112, 302). Both Krontiris (78) and Ferguson ("Renaissance Concepts" 157) attribute to Sir John Davies *The Muses Sacrifice* (1612), a poem important to historians for its dedication to "LVCY, Countesse of Bedford; MARY, Countesse-Dowager of Pembrooke; and, ELIZABETH, *Lady Cary*, (Wife of S$^{r}$. *Henry Cary*:) Glories of Women" (1). The dedication, however, is signed "John Davies of Hereford," and the attribution of this poem has posed no difficulty to either poet's biographers. Davies of Hereford it is, then, who refers to Cary in these dedicatory verses as the author's "Pupill" (3v), and reminds Pembroke of the gift he gave her of a copy of the Sidneian Psalmes written in gold ink: "My *Hand* once sought that glorious *WORKE* to grace; / and writ, in *Gold*, what thou, in *Incke*, hadst writ" (3). Having read both Sir John's *Nosce Teipsum* and Davies of Hereford's lengthy and incoherent *Mirum in Modum*, I can only

Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, the man who became a close friend of Samuel Daniel's shortly thereafter,[117] and he was in residence at the Middle Temple during the same years as Fulke Greville, although I am not aware of any evidence that he was particularly close with either man (Kelsey; Kruger and Nemser xxviii). Sir John also appears to have become acquainted with Cary's uncle and mentor Sir Henry Lee through the Cecils, as I discuss below, and his popularity as a poet suggests that the well-read Pembroke and Cary may have been familiar with his work. Only half his work was ever published in his lifetime, and he stopped writing poetry after 1599 (Kelsey), but the number of extant manuscript copies argue for a strong coterie following, and his *Nosce Teipsum* (also 1599) was "reprinted six times during the next quarter century" (Kruger and Nemser xxxvii). Although Penry Williams may have good grounds for dismissing the *Acrosticke Hymnes* as "a rather pedestrian conceit," then, in the context of this project the work may be found to reward a fairly close scrutiny (42).

Hannay *et al* call Davies's "Hymne XII" "a comic treatment" of the problem that "an inadequate comprehension of the divine may underlie the inability to portray" Elizabeth (87). The tone of this particular "Hymne" is light and its purpose satiric. Yet its theme is one that Davies develops and sustains quite seriously throughout his acrostic *Hymnes* and elsewhere: it is impossible to know anything or anyone fully by sight. In his highly regarded *Nosce Teipsum* (1599), for instance, Davies rejects the possibility of arriving at true knowledge through observation, while affirming, and modelling, the old-fashioned methods of seeking resemblances and reasoning inductively.[118] The exhortation to himself with which *Nosce Teipsum* closes could almost be directed at the painter Davies satirizes in "Hymne XII":

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concur with P. J. Finkelpearl's comment in the *Oxford DNB* regarding Davies of Hereford: the reason "only one of his works [*Microcosmos*] ever reached a second edition ... would seem to be distressingly clear."

[117] I take up the subject of Daniel's and Mountjoy's friendship in the following chapter.

[118] Because of the Fall, Davies laments, "I know my *Sense* is mockt with euery thing" (8). But Reason is a property of the Soul, not of the clouded senses, and Davies celebrates the soul's ability to know, not Nature, but herself, through her powers of reason by which

> ... she defines, argues, deuides, compounds,
> Considers *vertue*, *vice*, and *generall things*,

> And thou my *Soule*, which turnst thy Curious eye,
> To view the beames of thine owne forme diuine,
> Know, that thou canst know nothing perfectly,
> While thou art Clouded with this flesh of mine.
>
> Take heed of *ouer-weening*, and compare
> Thy Peacocks feet with thy gay Peacocks traine .... (101)

Similarly, the very fact that the artist in "Hymne XII" has chosen to attempt a "counterfait" raises questions about his prideful reliance on his senses. However, unlike *Nosce Teipsum* the *Hymnes* are focused on the question of representing the queen, and "Hymne XII" specifically asserts that Elizabeth's full self cannot be captured in a single coherent image. It also calls for a suitable degree of humility on the part of the artist, approving the latter's lowered eyes ("Nor durst his eyes her eyes behold") if not the product achieved. The painting's inability to adequately convey "Maiestie" also raises questions about the picture's ability to produce the desired effect of awed humility in the viewer. If, then, Davies chooses to conclude by approving the artist's lack of "boldnesse," the point remains that the style of representation this picture's "maker" has chosen to employ strongly suggests to the poet an inappropriate, peacock-like "Audacitie." Like any good Elizabethan courtier, Davies knows how to offer correction through praise.

The *Hymnes* collectively also demonstrate the appropriate approach. As Helen Hackett has shown, panegyrics of the 1590s often complimented Elizabeth by asserting "that the Queen's excellences were beyond human depiction," yet "such statements of the failure of art often generated … not silence, but a profusion of words" (187, 188). In the case of Davies's twenty-six acrostic verses, the profusion of incoherent images is represented as resulting, in part, from the

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> And marrying diuerse principles and grounds,
> Out of their match a true conclusion brings. (8)

It is the inspiration of suffering which led him to contemplate his soul, and it is through reason rather than through unreliable observation that Davies arrives at his argument: "*The soul a substance,* and *a spirit* is," and "this Spirit be to the Bodie knit, / As an apt meane her powers to exercise, / Which are, *life, motion, sense,* and *will,* and *wit*" (12). Much of his argument, furthermore, depends on the resemblance he observes between the Soul and his ageing queen: in his dedication, Davies calls Queen Elizabeth the soul of England's body ("*Faire* Soule, ... *to the fairest bodie knit*" (A3v); in the poem proper, he calls the soul "this cunning Mistresse and this Queene" (15) who "doth the iustice of her *State* maintaine, / Because the *Senses* readie seruants bee, / Attending nigh about her Court, the braine" (16). We may recognize in this popular verse philosophy a style and methodology highly valued by Margaret Cavendish six decades later.

necessity of responding to the queen's dazzling presence with a gaze deferred.[119] Throughout this collection, Davies eschews any suggestion of adopting the position of the anatomizing artist that he satirizes in "Hymne XII." Rather than getting "each proportion right," he is careful to describe Elisa's eyes and cheeks in such a way as to make them very difficult to picture with confidence, and her eyes are the only body parts mentioned with any frequency. Instead of blazoning Elizabeth's lips or hair, Davies's *Hymnes* praise "her Mind" ("Hymne XIII"), "the Sun-beams of her Mind" ("Hymne XIV"), "her Wit" ("Hymne XV"), "her will" ("Hymne XVI"), "her Memorie" ("Hymne XVII"), "her Magnanimitie" ("Hymne XXIV"), and "her Moderation" ("Hymne XXV"). Thus, I read Davies's "Hymne XII" as yet another response to changing modes of representation at the turn of the seventeenth century, as a work suggesting that, once one boldly sets out to portray a three-dimensional female body in a specific setting, it is likely that a "dull … counterfait" will result. Worse, neither painter nor viewer may recognize his essential inadequacy. Avoiding the appearance of the evil that is counterfeiting is the challenge that both the artist and the poet share (and so, of course, the dramatist as well).

It is certainly the challenge that Pembroke takes up in her dramatic poem "Astrea," in which she aligns herself with Sir John Davies on one side of a clearly defined dispute. Although I agree with Hannay *et al* that Pembroke's "Astrea" "becomes a commentary on the failure of the language of encomia" (86), agree, that is, that the poem raises the question of the failure of the language of encomia, I cannot read it as asserting this failure unqualifiedly. Instead, I read Pembroke's interrogation of the possibility of such a failure as subordinate to her investigation of the issue of what *type* of artistic expression is best suited to that impossible but necessary task of expressing the inexpressible. Surely, if Pembroke genuinely believed this encomium to be a failure, if she were entirely convinced that "But silence, nought can praise her" (60), she would have chosen the way of Cordelia instead of offering to the queen this product of her pen. Instead, her Piers and Thenot agree on silence only after they have argued long enough to allow the latter to make a virtuoso display of his verbal skill.

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[119] For an interesting Lacanian reading of Davies's treatment of the gaze, see Christopher Pye, 61-70.

Pembroke also suggests that not even Piers is opposed to encomia of all kinds. Thenot's request that Piers "tell me why, / My meaning true, my words should ly" (55-56) may be read as expressing Pembroke's own (and every poet's) desire to find a way to express herself through language. But Piers shares Thenot's interest in form.[120] Consider his impatient question, "When wilt thou speake in measure?" (36). This emphasis on good "measure" may be read as comparing poetry unfavourably with the increasingly important discourses of natural philosophy and commerce. However, "Measure" is also a poetic term. In asking this question, then, Piers is not rejecting poetry, but asserting the principle that doing justice to a subject requires finding the right form—much as Davies does in *Nosce Teipsum*. I would argue that Pembroke offers "Astrea" itself as an example of the right form, one that Piers and Thenot achieve collectively through their joining of Piers's humility with Thenot's rich panoply of abstractions and images. Astrea is, according to Thenot, "our chiefest joy, / Our chiefest guarde against annoy" (31-32), "A field in flowry Roabe" (38), and "A manly Palme, a Maiden Bay" (50). This is the alternative to Davies's "dull … counterfait": a proliferation of individually inadequate descriptions that succeed collectively where—and because—no single one may hope to do so. The first demand Piers makes is for accurate, adequate representation. The second demand he makes is for silence. What Pembroke's text leaves unresolved is whether he asks for silence because he has given up hope of having his first demand satisfied by Thenot's constellation of representations—or whether he has, in fact, therewith been satisfied.

Nor can the need for Thenot to do justice to Elizabeth's immeasurable greatness be considered apart from the necessity of acknowledging Elizabeth as *Astrea*, the doer—or giver—of justice *par excellence*. In "Hymne XXIII, *Of her Iustice*," Davies writes:

Exil'd *Astrea* is come againe,

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[120] The praeteritio, we may recall, is a classical topos.

Lo here she doth all things maintaine
In *number, weight,* and *measure*:
She rules vs with delightfull paine,
And we obey with pleasure.

In addition to asserting that no one can "measure" as well as she, Davies's description here asserts other aspects of Astrea only to deny them. She takes "paine" to rule well, giving her subjects "pleasure" and delight, the poem suggests.[121] But the same line also suggests that Astrea metes out "paine"—that this is how she maintains rule. This ambiguity is typical of the "1590s panegyric," which as Hackett argues "becomes progressively divided between increasingly extravagant professions of devotion to the Queen, and oblique expressions of dissent and disillusionment" (166). The ambiguity is also evident in Davies's naming of Astrea as "Exil'd." Previously exiled and thus no intruder but a native returned "again," she is, nevertheless, "come" into a place where the "we" of the *Hymne* already dwelled. Thus Davies both asserts and denies the association of Astrea's delightfully painful rule with her conquering arrival into a space she has not previously inhabited: an arrival that involves the infliction of "paine" (whether "delightfull" to the conqueror or to the conquered remains unclear). Elizabeth's mobility through time and space is, inevitably, a threat, because a queen's progress is through social space, which requires the presence, and subsequent unsettling, of other human bodies besides her own.

The anxiety and hostility this fact created among Elizabeth Tudor's male subjects, necessary witnesses of her power, and the strategies therefore necessary for negotiating her authority as a public figure, are much more obvious in such representations as the *Procession* portrait (Fig. 20), where the power of Elizabeth's subjects is explicitly asserted, as I discuss in my final chapter. Nevertheless, even from the most idealized representations of the queen hints of conflict, like hints of mortality, cannot be entirely suppressed. Both Bennet's and Pembroke's descriptions of the queen's arrival, which must be announced and then denied, introduce jarring notes of conflict, reminding us that when someone powerful does move into a space the effect is to disrupt and disturb, discomfiting those already possessing it. Thenot's description of Astrea's arrival includes an acknowledgement of the power a mobile queen has to disrupt and change a place, in this case to chase away from it "every ill" (a safely abstract noun phrase). And even Piers's intervention cannot entirely suppress the potential for conflict that attends Astrea's progress. It only substitutes another conflict in its stead: this argument between the two shepherds themselves is proof of loving loyalty, not dissent, but it is nevertheless an argument provoked by the idea of the queen's presence. Similarly, Bennet's bugle, hardly the sort of instrument one associates with nymphs and shepherds, disrupts the otherwise peaceful scene in "All Creatures Now" with its reminder of the martial aspect worn by all monarchs when they ceremonially move to occupy a space.[122] Such a martial aspect is particularly problematic in a woman, and one way of dealing with the problem of a mobile queen is by denying the physical fact of her movement. Because her presence is felt before she arrives, she is always already there. But the bugle, paradoxically, goes before.

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[121] I thank Isobel Grundy for sharing with me her insights into this passage.

And death follows after. The final couplet of Bennet's madrigal was prescribed: every lyric in Morley's 1601 collection ends with the words, "Long live fair Oriana." The entire song, then, must prepare the listener for this reminder of the queen's mortality: to wish her long life is to acknowledge that it must end.[123] The queen's progress is, ultimately, like anyone else's, a progress towards the grave. This is the *telos* of any coherent narrative involving a moving—and hence changing, changeable—human body. It is what every representation of triumph must therefore be at pains to deny.

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[122] Another reason, perhaps, to locate its winding in the past rather than the present.

[123] Similarly, Sir John Davies's dedication of *Nosce Teipsum* to the queen closes with these lines, which twice describe the queen's inhabiting heaven rather than earth:

> O many, many years may you remaine,
> A happie Angell to this happie Land:
> Long, long, may you on earth our Empresse raigne,
> Ere you in Heauen a glorious Angell stand;
>
> Stay long (sweet Spirit) ere thou to Heauen depart,
> Which mak'st each place a Heauen wherin thou art. (2v)

Methinks the poet doth protest too much.

## B. "WHERE CORRESPONDENCIE MAY HAVE NO PLACE"

### 1. "The inhabitants of this contry": gender, nation, place

> The inhabitants of this contry excell in pregnancy of understanding, and activity of body ....
> - Elizabeth Tanfield [Cary], trans., "Europa," *The Mirror of the Worlde* (1597), f. 3v

That Pembroke valued Thenot's—and Davies's—chosen representational mode is also evident in her own portrait, engraved by Simon van de Passe in 1618 (Fig. 12). Here we find deployed some of the same strategies as those approved for representing Elizabeth. They are, of necessity, adapted for one who, though of high rank, is neither virgin nor queen. But even for a mere countess, the synoptic and emblematic style has advantages over the scenic. As do the 1579 *Sieve* portrait, "All Creatures Now," and "Astrea," van de Passe's woodcut avoids suggesting too specific a place or time, portraying instead a woman of timeless virtue who belongs almost everywhere (an important qualification for a non-queen).

Although made fifteen years into the Stuart era, this portrait is actually much more flattened and iconic than earlier youthful portraits of the countess, made when Pembroke had much less of a public persona to represent, and probably less say in how she was shown. It also features a number of different emblems of Pembroke's status, none of which is adequate by itself to represent Pembroke or to represent the viewer's relative position to himself. Collectively, however, the effect they achieve is quite striking. As we might expect, Pembroke is apparelled for the public eye:

> Dressed in the clothing that signifies her rank—embroidered silk, lace, ermine, and extravagant ropes of pearls—she holds out to the viewer a volume clearly labeled 'Davids Psalms,' *i.e.* the Sidneian paraphrase. The cartouche around the portrait is a design of quill pens in ink wells, surmounted by a laurel wreath. In this portrait she is thus crowned with the laurel wreath of the poet .... (Hannay, "Mary Sidney Pembroke")

A widowed mother, Pembroke cannot perform virginity as Elizabeth does, but the pearls signify her chastity as well as her status, and the book she holds (instead of the sieve) is the *Psalmes* she and her brother Philip translated. Insofar as this object announces Pembroke's religious and familial devotion, it signifies a domestic chastity; however, it is also a book that Pembroke has co-authored and published, and thus, like Elizabeth's sieve, signifies a kind of virtue that can only be performed in public—in this case the public of the bookseller's marketplace.[124] This translator's virtue, then, both depends on, and constitutes, Pembroke's liberty to enter and create mixed-gender non-domestic social spaces.[125] We may recall that it was in Pembroke's role as reader, author, and editor that she created her miniature court, the unofficial academy of poets and dramatists gathered around her at Wilton. For all of these reasons, then, I believe that it was necessary for the artist to eschew any kind of naturalistic background. The Countess, as van de Passe depicts her, could be anywhere—and she has the right to be, as one with a good claim to membership in several virtual communities: that of readers, that of writers, and of course the oldest virtual community, the community of saints. Just as for Queen Elizabeth, for Pembroke the reversion to a more iconic style represents progress, both metaphorically and literally; it reflects the improvement in her status, and reminds us of the public stage to which her status entitles her.

Even more anachronistic is that assertively iconic and synoptic triptych, *The Great Picture*. Commissioned by Lady Anne Clifford, it was painted by Jan van Belcamp (attr.) in

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[124] In some ways the portrait claims a position in the tradition that Aston describes of portraits of iconoclastic Protestant reformers, in which the focus is on the book the sitter holds, rather than the sitter, asking the viewer to read the "features" merely as modest "testimony to a life dedicated to the Word" ("Portraiture" 194). I would argue, however, that in this case the depiction of Pembroke's rich clothing and accessories, and the accompanying texts, insist on celebrating her social and familial status with her piety.

[125] As Benedict Anderson argues, the development of such "print-languages" as standard English "laid the bases for national consciousnesses," because readers "gradually became aware of" their "fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print," an awareness that "formed ... the embryo of the nationally-imagined community" (47). However, this bilingual portrait (the text on the cartouche is in Latin, the title of the book itself and the inscription beneath the portrait in English) identifies Pembroke as one who is at home in (at least) two languages and therefore at least two imagined communities: the English and the European Protestant humanists. Furthermore, membership in either community via print was problematic for a woman. In *The Renaissance Computer*, Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday discuss the "entirely new social entity … created" by the invention of the printing press, "one which had never existed in any previous age." They argue that because so "Many individuals could now [not only] own books, [and] amass their own libraries, [but also] refer in their correspondence with one another to texts in commonly available editions and (a dangerous undertaking in the manuscript age) even pass texts from hand to hand, … a new social structure [was] emerging: a public arena, a place of uncontrollable and noisy debate, dispute, and exchange" (6). It was into this public arena, one with dangerously indeterminate boundaries, that the decorous countess, by entering into print, also chose to enter. In fact, the engraving includes this notice of Pembroke's entry into the world of commerce in small letters beneath the inscription, near the woodcut's bottom edge: "Are to be sold by Io. Sudbury and Geo Humble in Popes[…]" (as reproduced in Hannay, *Phoenix* 58).

1646, now several decades after the arrival in England of van Dyck and his style (Fig. 13).[126] Daughter and legal heir of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland and 13th Baron Clifford (Fig. 9), Lady Anne was only fifteen when her father died in 1605; first her mother and then Anne on her own behalf fought for her right to inherit the Clifford lands and barony. She finally became Baroness Clifford in 1643, having steadfastly resisted intense pressure from both her husbands and from both Stuart kings to sign away her ancestral rights. The archaic style of the painting suits precisely Clifford's programme: it resists present authority by invoking an older one, and it represents Clifford as loyal to a host of ancestors and teachers whom the portrait honours and recalls.

In an astute reading of two other synoptic seventeenth-century family portraits, Catherine Belsey finds that the wives portrayed therein have "no independent being, no fixed and single place on the canvas which matches the solid presence" of their husbands (151).[127] However, the paintings on which she focuses both celebrate the husband as the locus of stability and continuity. By contrast, at the centre of her *Great Picture* Clifford locates family—not patriarchy. Both her parents as well as her brothers represent collectively the memory to which she owes her allegiance, and her aunts' portraits on the wall behind her mother and brothers balance out the genders in the central panel. Anne herself is the focus of both side panels, which show a woman who has ended as she began: the loyal and worthy heir of all her family's qualities. Even as she has changed from age fifteen to age fifty-six, even as she has moved from one side to the other, from one point in time to another, she has remained ever the same. Thus Clifford, like Pembroke, relies on an out-dated style of painting to represent herself as an autonomous, historical, woman whose identity cannot be defined according to the state of her body or the name of the man whose roof she happens to be living under.

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[126] "The picture is over eight feet high, and each of the end panels is four feet wide. The left-hand panel shows Lady Anne aged fifteen, at the time of her father's death, when she should have inherited the Clifford estates. On the wall behind her hang portraits of the two main influences on her childhood: Samuel Daniel, her tutor, and Mrs. Anne Taylour, her governess. The central figures depicted on the main panel are her parents, together with her young brothers, Robert and Francis. The earl wears under his coat of velvet the special suit of armour that he commissioned on his appointment as Queen's Champion. ... Bordering the central panel are nearly forty coats of arms—those borne by Anne's ancestors since the earliest times" (Clifford 97). The right-hand panel features Lady Anne as she was in 1646; behind her are hung pictures of both her husbands. The dog in the right-hand panel is a symbol of loyalty.

[127] The portraits Belsey considers are *Sir Thomas Aston at the Deathbed of His Wife* (*c.* 1635) by John Souch of Chester, and *The Saltonstall Family* (*c.* 1636-7) by David des Granges. The former includes an image of the dead wife, and another image of her alive; the latter includes an image of Richard Saltonstall's first wife on her deathbed, and another one of his current wife holding their newborn son.

How poignant, in contrast, is the portrait of Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess Falkland, painted by Paul van Somer, *c.* 1620 (Fig. 14). Like the Tudor portraits we have already seen, this one emphasizes Cary's status through its depiction of ornament and dress: one of its most noticeable features is Cary's elaborately coiffed hair, which we know from her daughter she had dressed only to please her husband.[128] The choice of painter also signals the Falklands' desire to please England's husband-father, James I: van Somer had done a full-length portrait of the king approximately one year previously (Howarth 126). However, that portrait (which I will discuss at length in Chapter Three) depicts James in a carpeted, curtained room with the projected new Banqueting House designed by Inigo Jones visible through the large windows behind him (Fig. 19). This portrait, by contrast, recalls Scrots's (attr.) much earlier depiction of Princess Elizabeth: in a style again become common in Stuart portraits of women, Cary stands in an interior space with curtains, not landscape, at her back. Unlike van Somer's portrait of Queen Anne (1617-18), no vistas of vast country holdings or fantastic architecture stretch out behind the Viscountess Falkland (perhaps in part because her husband's holdings were embarrassingly scanty).

But where this portrait differs most strikingly from its Tudor predecessors is in the three-dimensionality of Cary's body. Indeed, that round, unwieldy body dominates the scene. Most obviously it signifies Cary's inferiority as an essentially physical being and her subjugation as wife, by its reminder of her many pregnancies. Cary's eighth child was baptised on September 16, 1620 (Wolfe xv), so she may well have been pregnant when this portrait was painted. Both hairdo and body, then, emphasize Cary's husband's status, and hers as reflection of his—as the wearer, and the bearer, of his power and possessions. We find here no evidence of the sitter’s personal authority, of her authorship, or of her affiliation with any social group other than her immediate family. There is no book in the picture, although by the time of painting Cary had to her credit one publication (*The Tragedy of Mariam*, pub.1613). In contradiction to the teachings of the text she translated as a child (quoted in the epigraph to this section), this European woman’s “pregnancy of understanding” is here denied, and so too is her “activity of body”: I can see no affirmation of mobility in this portrait. It is difficult to imagine a body so bulky walking very far in any direction. But no matter how, or where, she moves, that hair, that body’s bulk, tell us all that Henry Cary, First Viscount Falkland, needs us to know about his wife.

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[128] "Dressing was all her life a torture to her, but because he would haue it so, she willingly supported it, all the while she lived w*i*th him, in her younger dayes, euen to teadiounesse [*sic*]" (116).

The understanding such a portrait does affirm, of course, is that of its ideal viewer—whom I take in this case to be Cary’s husband. Unlike Pembroke’s portrait, with its multiple supplements of emblems and text, this one disallows any inference that either the artist or the viewer could be missing anything important. The horizontal bands on the bottom of Cary’s cloak mark the transversals, while the orthogonals of table and carpet define a shallow interior space behind her, continuing outward from the ground of the painting towards the viewer with no illusion of a barrier, offering the viewer mastery of Cary’s body and of the space she inhabits. The effect achieved by the use of perspective here is, therefore, in my view that which Erwin Panofsky describes as follows: “the beginning of the space no longer coincides with the border of the picture: rather, the picture plane cuts through the middle of the space. Space thus seems to extend forward across the picture plane; indeed, because of the short perpendicular distance it appears to include the beholder standing before the panel” (60-61). As a consequence of the beholder’s inclusion in the scene, the woman in this painting occupies an entirely domestic scene, yet has no privacy. This, as I hope to show, is Mariam’s problem too.

However, although she allowed herself to sit for that stultifying portrait, Cary was no less aware than Pembroke that there is more than one strategy for representing a woman’s status and virtues, and that a woman’s performance of static domesticity could be damaging to herself and others. Cary could not aspire to the kind of power, or even the style of portraiture, that Elizabeth Tudor enjoyed (and Mary Pembroke also, according to her degree), but there is strong evidence to suggest that Cary, like Pembroke, could and did recognize and appreciate the effects achieved by the representational mode favoured by the queen and the queen's court, even as she appreciated how different were her own options. Cary's parents actually hosted Queen Elizabeth on one of her last progresses in September of 1603 (Wolfe xiii), an event Cary must have heard about in detail, even though she may have been living with her mother-in-law by that point.[129] And it was the uncle of Cary's mother, Sir Henry Lee, who commissioned his protegé Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger to paint the remarkable *Ditchley* portrait (*c.*1592), which depicts Elizabeth's ornately clothed figure rising above a map of England that, on closer inspection, turns out to be the entire globe (Fig. 15). Many features of this painting recall the earlier *Sieve* and *Armada* portraits, from the emblematic depiction of Elizabeth's imperial claim to the inclusion of text (in this case a sonnet and three Latin mottos) to supplement the complex programme of imagery.[130] Similarly, as well, the absence of depth resulting from the flattened, iconic style makes it impossible for the *Ditchley*'s viewer to fix himself in any specific position relative to the figure viewed. Because this portrait hung for many years in Lee's home in Ditchley, not far from Cary's home town of Burford, and because we have other evidence for a fairly close relationship between young Elizabeth Tanfield and her uncle, I consider it highly likely that Cary had opportunity as a child to become familiar with the *Ditchley* portrait, and was expected to admire both it and the emblematic style of portraiture it represented.

There can be little doubt that Lee, who directed the composition of this portrait, was an important figure in Cary's life during her formative years. It is possible that Lee had a hand in arranging Elizabeth's marriage to Henry Cary, for the groom was cousin to Lee's long-time live-in mistress, Anne Vavasour (Chambers 151).[131] It is almost certain that he had a hand in arranging or overseeing her education. Some time before the marriage to Cary, which took place in 1602 (and probably in 1597, at age eleven or twelve), young Elizabeth Tanfield translated all of the texts describing the 94 maps in the 1588/90 French edition of Abraham Ortelius's atlas, *Le Théâtre du Monde*.[132] The neatly-written manuscript is bound in "limp parchment, decorated with gilt stamps—a style of modest luxury characteristic of 16th- to 17th-century English (and continental) books."[133] It is also dedicated to Lee, whom young Cary salutes as "knighte of the moste noble order of the garter"(f.3). Such a gift would have been considered appropriate product and proof of an expensive education, and thus an appropriate acknowledgement of gratitude. For this reason Cary's dedication strongly suggests that Lee helped provide or guide her education in some way—quite possibly by finding, or funding, her tutors. The choice of an atlas as gift for the man who commissioned the *Ditchley* portrait also suggests that Cary knew her uncle well, for the *Ditchley* portrait, designed in part to celebrate Lee's relationship with the queen, marks him as one who shares the queen's knowledgeable enthusiasm for maps. It was Lee's cousin, the powerful William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who sent Christopher Saxton out to map every county in England. Saxton published "the first national atlas of any country" in 1579, followed soon after by a large wall map of England (Evans and Lawrence xi). Queen Elizabeth authorized this initiative, and she owned a copy of Saxton's wall map, which she displayed in the Queen's Gallery at Whitehall (Tyacke and Huddy 41). It is a Saxton map that the queen is standing on in the Ditchley portrait.[134] Just as Lee's gift to Elizabeth Tudor constructs him as one who shares her values and interests, so Elizabeth Tanfield's gift to Lee marks her as one who shares his values and interests. It also, I believe, announces her as one of those who value such texts as the Ditchley Portrait exemplifies, and who appreciate the strategies it employs for representing female autonomy in terms of the unfixed female body's ability to transcend borders.[135]

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[129] Elizabeth and Henry Cary were married in September, 1602. Her daughter records that "The first yeare or more she lived att her owne fathers," before moving in with her mother-in-law (*Life* 108).

[130] The portrait having been both damaged and cut down in size from its original, several words from the mottos and sonnet are now missing or impossible to read (see Notes 145 and 149).

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[131] Lee also remembered Cary at his death: "To his niece Lady Cary," reports Chambers, "he bequeathed a cup of agate and another of ivory trimmed with silver" (229).

[132] The ms. in its current state only contains 92 descriptions, but one folio is missing. As I have argued elsewhere, the usual identification of Cary's source as the 1598 edition of Ortelius, *Le Miroir du Monde*, is incorrect (Peterson, "The Source and Date of Elizabeth Tanfield Cary's *The Mirror of the Worlde*").

[133] Bruce Barker-Benfield, Senior Assistant Librarian, Department of Special Collections & Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Personal email, 7 July 2003.

[134] To be precise, she is standing on the entire globe, but only the southern parts of England and Wales, represented by the Saxton map, are clearly visible. I am grateful to Lesley Cormack for this identification. Chambers's biography of Lee, which continues to be influential, incorrectly identifies the map's original as "one of the Sheldon tapestry maps of Oxfordshire" (241).

But the *Ditchley* portrait also has the potential to be even more unsettling than either *Sieve* or *Armada*, even—or especially—for a young Englishwoman who appreciates the liberatory potential of this particular representational mode. Like its predecessors, this emblematic and iconic royal portrait does not organize "objects in relation to each other to produce a notional and singular position from which the scene is intelligible" (Pollock 14). However, whereas the viewer of any one of these portraits is challenged by the unreconcileable significations of its imagery, the *Ditchley* portrait's imagery also includes a pointed reminder of the viewer's subjugation. According to the standard reading, the portrait depicts Elizabeth's dominance over the land of England; additionally, it asserts that "Elizabeth is England, woman and kingdom are interchangeable" (Strong, *Gloriana* 136).[136] My own reading differs somewhat from this, however. Certainly the map is Elizabeth's reflection—she *is* England, and to look at an image of one is to see the other. But the whole point, surely, is that these two Elizabeths are far from interchangeable: what we see here, rather, are representations of the queen's physical body and her political body, in a dialectical image that insists on the distinctions between the queen's two bodies even as it unites them.[137] Elizabeth's right to rule depends on her possessing both; each image accurately represents one in detail, yet the unrepresentability of the queen's nature is insisted upon by the dazzling incommensurability of the two images. This particular strategy of self-representation is one that no one, man or woman, can imitate. Furthermore, while humbled and disoriented, the English subjects who view this painting are also put specifically in their place. Elizabeth Tudor's feet are firmly planted on the land her viewers occupy; specifically, she stands on Oxfordshire, Lee's home—and Elizabeth Tanfield's as well. As admiring subject, the viewer is invited to imagine himself—or herself—there, under the queen's feet, in subjugation.[138] But that is not the angle we view her from, for the queen who stands above her subjects is also, when we view the portrait, directly in front of us. In fact, we occupy no space. She is everywhere—all space is hers, all borders have already been crossed.

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[135] Cary's relationship with Lee goes a long way towards explaining how this child became known to the poet Michael Drayton, who dedicates two poems to her in *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, the first edition of which was published in 1597. Drayton's dedication suggests specific knowledge of Cary's studies and interests, for he asserts, "Swete is the French tongue, more sweet the Italian, but most sweet are they both if spoken by your admired selfe," and he comments on her "tender yeres, … womanlike wisedom[,] … iudgement, and reading" ($43^v$). Drayton later wrote *Poly-olbion: A Chorographicall Description of Great Britain* (1616), a work in which thirty songs are accompanied by maps. To date no one has investigated Drayton's influence on Cary (or hers on him), or considered the extent to which Cary shared the interest in travel, exploration, and map-making that was so characteristic of the Elizabethan men with whom she was acquainted. I plan to investigate this relationship in my next project. More immediately, however, in *The Mirror of the Worlde* we see one example of the accomplishments that Drayton was so impressed by, and in Cary's dedication of it to the influential courtier Lee we see evidence of a connection that may also have motivated Drayton's praise.

[136] S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies echo Strong in asserting that Elizabeth and her kingdom are "interchangeable" in this portrait ("From Myself" 11).

## 2. "Dazled with the glorie": beyond nature

> **E** nuie go weepe, My Muse and I
> **L** augh thee to scorne; thy feeble Eye
> **I** s dazled with the glorie
> **S** hining in this gay poesie,
> **A** nd litle golden Storie. – John Davies, "Hymne XXVI. To Enuie"

The *Ditchley* portrait cannot have been the only example of this kind with which Cary was familiar. We do not know precisely what role Lee played in Cary's life, but as a well-read and well-connected courtier and diplomat he would have been just as capable of introducing her to books and writers or finding her tutors as of finding her a husband. Lee knew writers, and had some influence on English courtly writers during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. He was raised in the household of his uncle, the poet Sir Thomas Wyatt (Chambers 27; Strong, *Cult* 130). He is also the model for the knight *Laelius* in Book II of the *Arcadia* (Strong, *Cult* 149); he tilted against Sidney in 1581 and again in 1584, and in "remembrance of Sir Philip Sidney," he caused

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[137] See Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*.
[138] I also note that one of the earliest purposes to which Burghley put Saxton's maps was "locating recusant families" (Sanford 18).

"a horse draped in deep mourning" to be "led in at the 1586 tilt and verses spoken or presented bewailing the loss of that flower of chivalry" (Strong, *Cult* 140). Although Lee himself has not become famous for his courtly poetry, he may have had a direct influence on Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Yates calls him "one of the builders of the Elizabethan mythology" (*Astraea* 84, 96-97).[139] Lee shared with Sidney and with Pembroke's husband the second Earl an enthusiasm not just for the physical challenge of the tilt, but also for the complex art of the *impresa* with which, in Elizabeth's day and under Lee's leadership, the tilt came to be inextricably associated.[140] In fact, Lee instituted the Accession Day tilts, held annually from 1570 or 1571 until the end of Elizabeth's reign.[141] "Sir Henry was thus an old hand at combining richly woven texts with complex visual imagery" (Hearn 17). Until his retirement as Queen's Champion in 1590—the same year Pembroke translated *Antonius*—he probably stage-managed and starred in most if not all of them as well. He probably knew as much as anyone about how his queen liked to be praised, and as Strong points out, Lee "and his generation … belonged to an era … whose pageantry, like its painting, depended for its form on multiplicity of incident" (*Cult* 161). This was a generation that both Pembroke and Cary lived with, learned with, and learned from; it was also a generation that they would have recognized as being on its way out of power.

One immediate inheritor of Lee's mantle was Sir John Davies, who helped to write speeches for the tournaments after Lee retired (Strong, *Gloriana* 157), and almost certainly designed the programme for Gheeraerts's *Rainbow* portrait (*c.* 1600-02) while he was employed by Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, Burghley's son (Fig. 16).[142] Whatever the personal relationship between Lee, Salisbury's cousin, and Davies, the court pageant poet Salisbury employed, there can be no question that they not only shared but were also both active in shaping and promoting the same courtly aesthetic. And they probably worked with the same painter in order to do so. The verse from Davies's *Hymnes* that I quote as epigraph to this section sums up their poetics quite well: no one image or emblem can capture Elizabeth's glory; nor can anyone's "feeble Eye." What is required, and what both the *Ditchley* and *Rainbow* portraits provide, is a "gay poesie" of images that do not locate either the queen or the viewer in any particular space or time, and thus deny gratification to the prideful imagination while celebrating a queenly presence that can be counted upon to turn up anywhere.

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[139] Yates considers it very likely that Lee "was the author of the Tale of Hemetes, which was presented before the Queen at Woodstock in 1575. ... If so, he takes a not unimportant place in Elizabethan literary history, for in its mixture of Greek and chivalrous romance, its ramblingly attractive prose style, the Tale of Hemetes foreshadows the *Arcadia* (even the first version of which was not yet written in 1575)" (*Astraea* 96-97).

[140] "Chivalric displays were not only presented at the royal Court. In 1596 the Earl of Pembroke, then Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, held a Christmas feast in Ludlow Castle at which his guests played the part of King Arthur's knights" (Penry Williams 416).

[141] Strong records that "William Segar, painter and herald, writing at the very end of the Elizabethan age, tells us that the Accession Day Tilts were begun by Sir Henry Lee at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Lee's own epitaph likewise lauds him for having raised 'those latter day Olimpiads of her Coronation jousts and Tournaments'" (*Cult* 129). Penry Williams also points out that, "Accommodated within the Protestant framework, the chivalric, mixed with pastoral, provided the images and the structure of Sidney's *Arcadia*, Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, and many lesser works" (416-17).

Because these two portraits are today among Gheeraerts's best known work, it is tempting to take them as representative, but in fact they are far more representative of Lee and Sir John Davies's style than of the painter's.[143] Lee was "Gheeraerts's first significant patron"; he appears to have "spotted Gheeraerts's talent and realised that he could use the painter to develop allegorical portraits of the complexity that he was looking for" (Hearn 17). But Gheeraerts was not, when Lee spotted him, already painting in the flattened, iconic style he would employ at Lee's request for representing the queen, and he did not always employ that style afterwards either.[144] "In his portraits other than those of the Queen," notes Wilson, "Gheeraerts established a style of great charm in which, although the Elizabethan emphasis on decoration is retained, the figures are no longer flat but convincingly three-dimensional and stand in three-dimensional settings" (17). Gheeraerts was also "the first large-scale (rather than miniaturist) portrait painter [in England] regularly to place his subjects in a landscape setting" (Hearn 9). In many ways more typical of his style is *Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex* (Fig. 17). This painting, "produced by Gheeraerts to mark his [*i.e.* Essex's] successful capture of Cadiz in 1596," shows Essex "dominating a land- and seascape, within which the port of Cadiz burns behind him" (Hearn 22). Although Essex's figure is elongated in the Mannerist style, it is convincingly three-dimensional—even more so than the portrait of Captain Thomas Lee painted two years previously (Fig. 9). And Gheeraerts uses the art of perspective effectively to locate Essex in a vast, coherent space.

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[142] See Yates (*Astraea*) and Strong (*Gloriana*, *Cult*) for detailed discussions of the evidence for Sir John Davies's involvement in the design of the *Rainbow* portrait. According to Sean Kelsey in the *Oxford DNB*, It was Sir Robert Cecil himself who presented Davies at court, where the queen had him sworn as servant-in-ordinary." Davies was expelled from the Middle Temples for "numerous infractions of the disciplinary code" culminating in "a violent assault" in Feb. 1598. However, "In Trinity term 1601 Davies secured the support of no lesser personages than Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Egerton for his readmission to the Middle Temple .... In the same year he was returned to parliament ...." And "When Cecil entertained the queen in 1602 at his new house in the Strand, London, Davies composed for the occasion *A Contention betwixt a Wife, a Widdow and a Maide*" (Kelsey).

[143] For the most comprehensive review of Gheeraerts's oeuvre, see Karen Hearn.

[144] Nor did Gheeraerts use this style for other portraits of men commissioned by Lee, including several of Lee himself.

It was not northern European Mannerism, however, but the stuff of English neo-medieval pageantry and iconologies that Lee and Salisbury required of Gheeraerts for their portraits of the queen. At the tilts, the knight contestants would each make a triumphal entry "into the tiltyard … attended by squires, pages, and liveried servants" (Strong, *Cult* 139). In addition to the "symbolic costume" of the often elaborate "fantasy dress" in which each knight and his servants were attired (Hearn 17), another important—and slightly more permanent—visual element of the tournament was the *imprese*: shields that each "page or squire" ceremonially presented to the Queen on behalf of his master, making a "speech in prose or verse. … These were afterwards hung in a waterside gallery at Whitehall and were shown to every visitor to the palace" (Strong, *Cult* 139, 144). Each knight's "*impresa*—a motto and a pictorial device painted on a shield—" expressed his "particular aspirations," and typically combined both an assertion of his own great accomplishment with a humble request for something from the queen (Penry Williams 415).

Accordingly, however frustrating and degrading was the position of a courtier having to perform the role of loving servant to the ageing and irascible Elizabeth (and no doubt it could be frustrating and degrading in the extreme), the tilts were opportunities to negotiate. Lee had good reason to replicate this ceremony of glorification and supplication at "the lavish private entertainment he staged for the Queen on her visit to Ditchley in 1592," two years after his retirement as Champion, for "Lee had been living there [at Ditchley] with his mistress Anne Vavasour, which had reportedly angered the Queen, but this visit marked Elizabeth's forgiveness of the elderly knight" (Hearn 31). Clearly, Lee was deliberately evoking the atmosphere of the tilts when Elizabeth was on this occasion "escorted into a hall hung with allegorical pictures, whose meanings she was invited to discover," and Hearn's suggestion that "The Ditchley portrait may have been one of these" is illuminating (17). In recalling the Accession Day Tilts he initiated and stage-managed brilliantly for two decades, Lee would have been recalling events when he was at his strongest, perhaps at his most appreciated, and the Queen at her most fêted. Presenting the portrait to Elizabeth as an over-sized *impresa* would have underscored and legitimized the painting's function of conveying its knight's humble request for forgiveness, and his confidence in that forgiveness's being forthcoming. Like the explanatory text accompanying an *impresa* shield, the *Ditchley* sonnet constructs Lee as one who knows himself to have been threatened by the possibility of judgement's swift strike and is grateful that it has been stayed: [145]

> Thunder the Ymage of that power dev[ine,]
> Which all to nothinge with a worde c[ommand,]
> Is to the earth, when it doth ayre r[efine,]
> Of power the Scepter, not of wr[ath the Hand.]
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Rivers of thanckes still to that oc[ean flow,]
> Where grace is grace above, power po[wer below.] (5-8, 13-14)

Depending on how one reads the last line, Lee's verse constructs Her Grace, Queen Elizabeth, as either the instrument of divine grace, or its surpasser.

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[145] The restorations provided here and below are the result of an exercise attempted for its own sake, and have no authority but my own suggestion, except for "dev[ine]" (5), "oc[ean]" (13), and "po[wer]" (14), all of which are suggested also by Hearn (60) and Strong (*Gloriana* 137), and all of which seem fairly obvious. If we accept "dev[ine]," then "r[efine]" also seems to be the logical reading; so does "wr[ath]" in the next line, given the word's frequent Old Testament association with fire and lightning and the poem's concern with judgement *versus* mercy. However, "c[ommand]" ("commands" would be more grammatical) and "[the Hand"] I offer much more tentatively, given that we have no way of knowing the rhyme, and I can think of several other possibilities. Re: the final couplet, Hearn ends line 13 on "oc[ean]" and line 14 on "po[wer]," both of which also seem obvious, but she indicates no missing words after either; Strong also ends line 14 on "po[wer]." Given the metrical requirements of the form, the sense of the words, the conventions of the English sonnet, and the parallelisms on which this particular sonnet is structured, it makes no sense to me not to conceive of the two lines as a rhyming couplet.

Whereas the text and images of the *Ditchley* portrait represents Elizabeth as being everywhere because she is above all, Gheeraerts's subsequent *Rainbow* portrait represents her as being everywhere because she knows all. The Latin motto, "non sine sole iris," "no rainbow without the sun," explicitly identifies Elizabeth with the life- and peace-giving sun which is also the eye of heaven. But the orange cloak covered with eyes and ears suggests—even threatens—a more invasive presence. Referring to Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, which as Yates notes was "One of the most popular handbooks of allegories and symbolism, used by artists all over Europe" (*Astraea* 216), Strong argues that this array of organs of perception on Elizabeth's cloak symbolizes "those who watched and listened to purvey their intelligence to her" (*Cult* 52).[146] The armillary sphere and the serpent of prudent wisdom likewise have their source, notes Strong, in the *Iconologia*, and hence their symbolism should present "no problems" to the interpreter (158).

Those eyes and ears may present a problem to the viewer, however, in their implicit threat of covert intrusion. The sun sees all, and Elizabeth's intelligencers may, collectively, see all, but the two bodies are not likely to be regarded as equally benign. Furthermore, as the threatening aspect of Elizabeth's presence is less cloaked here than in earlier portraits, so is the hostility she evokes. It is especially difficult to ignore the grotesqueness of this assemblage of body parts. I at least find it so, and believe that the recurring error of critics who persist in seeing mouths on the cloak where there are none may indicate a similar, if unarticulated, reaction in others.[147] One definition of the grotesque body, according to Margaret Miles, "is a random combination of disparate parts, without functional integrity." On her analysis:

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[146] In further support of this reading, Strong invokes another text by Davies: "his first entertainment for Cecil in 1600 in which he compared the use that the Queen made of her servants to that of the mind and the senses: 'many things she sees and hears through them, but the Judgement and the Election are her own'" (*Cult* 52). Howarth argues that the eyes on the cloak in the *Rainbow* portrait "suggest Elizabeth's unique gifts of insight and perception," but does not address the question of just what makes Elizabeth's "gifts of insight and perception" so "unique" (115). See also Note 118.

[147] Howarth comes closest to acknowledging the painting's grotesquerie when he refers to the images embroidered on dress and robe as a "witches' cauldron of symbolism" (87). Yates says the cloak is covered with eyes, ears, and mouths (216 ff), invoking the *Iconologia*'s representation of Rumour accordingly, and technically speaking Strong is right to correct her about the mouths. Pye repeats Yates's error, but the passage quoted below indirectly explains why.

> Three major rhetorical and pictorial devices contribute to grotesque presentation: caricature, inversion, and hybridization. Each of these devices has a specific connection to women, their bodies, and their behavior. The special affiliation of the female body with the grotesque is founded on the assumption that the male body is the perfectly formed, complete, and therefore normative body. By contrast, all women's bodies incorporate parts ... and processes ... that appeared grotesque .... [G]ender assumptions ... [are] a structural feature of this genre. (96)

Hybridization, Miles elaborates, "typically isolates organs and appendages of humans, animals, fish, and birds to reconnect them to other bodies at random" (103). Christopher Pye responds to the portrait as if to the sight of hybridization in process and uncontrollable:

> In the portrait, the hieroglyphic images of eyes, ears, and mouths are disturbing in part because they are so minimally distinguished from each other. The queen's robe seems to open the prospect of a seeing mouth, for instance, or a speaking eye. At the same time, ear, eye, and mouth are progressively less distinguishable from the material of the cloak itself, to the point where the mouth appears only as a gaping or tear in the fabric. The reduction produces an unsettling *trompe l'oeil.* While the slit-like eyes and mouths seem to turn the cloak into the substance of flesh, these openings nevertheless are explicitly only the lining of a fabric whose obverse is seamless and unmarked. Through the wound-like organisms [*sic*], the body seems to acquire an odd, hallucinatory reality. (68)

Fascinating as Pye finds it, such a vision, of such speaking wounds, may also be read as a vision of dismemberment.

At any rate, whether we read in the *Rainbow* portrait any hostility towards either the female body of the queen or towards those covert "eyes" and "ears" that serve it, we must, I think, recognize that this portrait does not affirm Elizabeth's public mobility in the way the 1579 *Sieve* or even the *Ditchley* portrait does: the eyes and ears figured on her cloak relocate this necessary mobility from the increasingly reclusive Elizabeth's own body to those of her (male) intelligencers. Even more than the *Ditchley* portrait, then, what Gheeraerts and Davies have developed between them here is at once an assertion of Elizabeth's right to see and hear anything, and a critique of her power to do so. It is also, in its representation of multiple points of view, each more authoritative than the viewer's own, either a gesture in defense of a beleaguered representational mode, or a mockery of it. We may recall that the programme of this portrait was designed just after Sir John Davies had, as far as may be known today, abandoned the writing of poetry.

Just what is being defended—or abandoned—may perhaps be best understood by a return to Davies's *Hymnes*, like the *Rainbow* portrait a work that compares Elizabeth to the sun while foregrounding the inadequacy of the conceit, though in my view with far less evidence of hostility. On Strong's reading, the *Rainbow*'s Elizabeth is the image of Davies's: she "embodies 'the true beams of majesty' (viii)," and "her mind is hailed as 'Rich sun-beams of th'eternal light' (xiv)" (*Cult* 53). This may not seem all that different from Ben Jonson's representation a few years later of King James I as the sun "Whose beams shine day and night" with "light sciential" (*Masque of Blackness* 232, 234), but Davies's *Hymnes* associate Elizabeth's eyes more with motion and dazzlement than with a piercing all-seeing gaze. Consider, for instance, his "Hymne XI. *To the Sunne*":

> **E** ye of the world, fountaine of light,
> **L** ife of day, and death of night,
> **I** humbly seeke thy kindnesse:
> **S** weet, dazle not my feeble sight,
> **A** nd strike me not with blindnesse.
>
> **B** ehold me mildly from that face,
> **E** ven where thou now dost runne thy race,
> **T** he Spheare where now thou turnest;
> **H** auing like phaeton chang'd thy place,
> **A** nd yet hearts onely burnest.
>
> **R** ed in her right cheeke thou dost rise;
> **E** xalted after in her eyes,
> **G** reat glorie there thou shewest:
> **I** n thother cheeke when thou descendest,
> **N** ew rednesse vnto it thou lendest,
> **A** nd so thy Round thou goest.

Like the sun—in part because they partake of its constant motion—Elizabeth's eyes must "dazle" all who try to look on them. She is one, writes Davies in a different hymn, whom "none views too nearly"; her true self can only be known indirectly, by observing "her vertues beams" (XIV). Yet in "Hymne XI," Davies deploys the trope only to discard it: he moves from establishing the metaphor that Elizabeth's face is (like) the sun, to asserting a clear distinction between the two. At the poem's start, the "S weet" whom Davies implores to "dazle not my feeble sight" is clearly

Elizabeth. But a sustained metaphor will not do; Elizabeth helps us to understand the sun as much it helps us to understand her, but the reader must not be allowed to imagine that any comparison is adequate. Thus the second stanza asserts that the sun has "like phaeton chang'd" its "place" with Elizabeth's eyes,[148] and in the final stanza Davies insists on completely distinguishing between the two heavenly bodies: "**R** ed in her right cheeke thou dost rise," writes the poet, addressing the sun as "thou." The queen, meanwhile, he refers to in this line not as that same, second-person, "Sweet" addressee, but in the third person: "her." This distinction of persons disrupts the initial equation Davies so carefully established. Perhaps the grateful poet's prayer has been answered; since in the third stanza he describes Eliza's cheeks and eyes, we may infer that he has looked upon her face without being struck blind. However, his "feeble sight" appears to have been somewhat "dazzled," as he cannot decide whether he sees one sun or two. The divine gaze is, then, both mobile and—as the *Rainbow* cloak also signifies—multiply located.

The *Ditchley* portrait, as we have seen, also divides as it unifies. Whereas Davies focuses on the artist's inadequacy, however, Lee's programme suggests that nothing in nature is up to the job of representing Elizabeth. According to Hearn, the sonnet on the portrait "compares Elizabeth's godlike powers with those of the natural elements—a message reinforced by the appearance of the sun and blue sky to the left and a black sky with lightning to the right" (31). Strong's reading of the work as a whole, however, is more accurate: "What is new in the vision of the Queen is … the association of the monarchical presence with cosmic control of the elements, her very presence banishing storms and ushering in sunshine, a theme which was to be reiterated later in the 'Rainbow' portrait" (*Gloriana* 138). In fact, she is *not* to be compared to "the natural elements," as the sonnet's first stanza makes clear:

> The prince of light, The sonne by whom thing[s know]
> Of heaven the glorye, and of earthe the g[race],

---

[148] A common enough trope: *cf. Romeo and Juliet*: "Two of the fairest stars in all the heavens / Having some business, do entreat her eyes / To twinkle in their spheres till they return" (2.1.15-17). However, invoking Phaeton invites the reader to consider the possibility that this exchange is a dangerously unnatural one, even as he dismisses the possibility by asserting that this sun-substitute "hearts onely burnest."

> Hath no such glorye as [your] grace to go
> Where Correspondencie May have no place.[149]

This is an astounding, and crucially important, assertion: from the sun we may learn of heaven's glory (just as from the thunder we may learn of God's wrath), but nothing is adequate to convey her grace's glory. In England, and perhaps also in English poetry, "Correspondencie May have no place." Just what is meant by "Correspondencie," however, and just why it "May have no place," are both (like the portrait itself) subject to a number of different readings. The sonnet's final clause may be read as a warning against the representational mode that is predicated on the assumption that it is possible to construct a single image corresponding in every detail to the original. It may also, however, be read as an acknowledgement of a lack of faith in the kind of "resemblance" that Lee and Davies were committed to, and that, as Michel Foucault has argued, "Up to the end of the sixteenth century … played a constructive role in the knowledge of Western culture. It was resemblance," as Foucault explains, "that organized the play of symbols, made possible knowledge of things visible and invisible, and controlled the art of representing them" (*Order* 17). Foucault further points out that "the sixteenth-century *episteme* … carries with it a certain number of consequences," chief among which is

> … the plethoric yet absolutely poverty-stricken character of this knowledge. Plethoric because it is limitless. Resemblance never remains stable within itself; it can be fixed only if it refers back to another similitude, which then, in turn, refers to others; each resemblance, therefore, has value only from the accumulation of all the others, and the whole world must be explored if even the slightest of analogies is to be justified and finally take on the appearance of certainty. (*Order* 30)

In many ways the representational mode the *Ditchley* and *Rainbow* portraits exemplify must be considered expressions of faith in "the sixteenth-century *episteme*," but the fact remains that this episteme was being superseded when Lee wrote his sonnet. Furthermore, this epistemological sea change was occurring in England at a time when the complex and fragile system of resemblances that served to support Elizabeth's reign was under strain. For, as Hackett has argued, "The iconography of [Elizabethan] panegyric had to do a lot of work of justification and naturalisation" (164). Insofar as, conventionally, there was an established *resemblance* between a woman's frail and mutable body and her mind, England was a country where, indeed, such "Correspondencie May have no place." None of these readings of the sonnet, however, necessarily excludes the other. In any case, Lee's verse evokes the anxiety with which the representational project in general, and the project of representing England's queen in particular, was fraught in the closing years of the sixteenth century.

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[149] "Grace" is Hearn's suggestion (59); given the rhyme scheme supplied by "place," the subject matter, and the known initial "g," I believe she must be right. The other suggested restorations are my own. Strong (*Icon* 289) does not give the complete word "go" but rather "g[…] to end line 3. It is hard without closely examining the canvas to know how reliable Hearn's reading of "go" is, or whether the missing word might not actually have been a longer one, such as "glow" or "grow."

Strong calls Sir John Davies's *Acrosticke Hymnes* (1599) "the final poetic cadences of the Eliza-cult" (*Cult* 46). I have suggested earlier that Davies's *Hymnes* evidence a conscious engagement in a contest between modes of representation; this implies that Davies himself, and readers sympathetic to his work, would have seen his *Hymnes* as fine expressions of an era that, like Cynthia herself, was on the wane. Given the *Ditchley* portrait's many affinities with Davies's style, young Elizabeth Tanfield is likely to have seen her queen's admired *Ditchley* portrait in much the same way.

## CONCLUSION: "ANOTHER PLACE, NOT HERE"

> In another place, not here, a woman might touch
> something between beauty and nowhere, back there
> and here, might pass hand over hand her own
> trembling life .... - Dionne Brand, "no language is neutral"

*The Muses Sacrifice*, published in 1612 by John Davies of Hereford, when Sir John Davies had long stopped publishing poetry and was busy making a career for himself as Solicitor-General of Ireland, also illustrates what was at stake at the turn of the seventeenth century for such Englishwomen as Pembroke and Cary. Here Cary's old tutor and erstwhile member of Pembroke's circle recycles the sun imagery that we recall from other poets' praises of Elizabeth dating from the previous decade, in order to praise the "three Graces": his new dedicatees, the

Countess of Pembroke, the Countess of Bedford, and Elizabeth Cary (1). However, this Davies does not deploy the discourse of the sun to convey a fabulous female unfixity:

> And as the *Sunne* doth glorifie each *Thing*
> (how euer base) on which he deigns to smile:
> So, your cleare *Eyes* doe giue *resplendishing*
> to all their *Objects* be they ne'er so vile:
> Then, looke on *These* and *Me*, with such a *Glance*,
> That both may shine through your Bright *Countenance*. (A5$^v$)

Neither does this act of honouring his dedicatees involve either the performance of humility or any suggestion that the poet needs to avert his gaze. Instead, Davies offers to Bedford, Cary, and Pembroke "my *Loues* rich *Estate*, / together with my *Rimes*, that rarer be," justifying such a claim as follows:

> But what can be more rare than richest *Loue*,
> sith so rich *Loue* is, now, so rarely found?
> *Yes*; measur'd-words, that, out of measure, moue
> the Soule to Heau'n, from Hel that's most profound! (2)

This Davies, in this new century, ascribes remarkably little power to those whose "resplendishing" gaze he implores, while claiming an "out of measure" power for his own verse. And the highest praise he can offer Pembroke is that she has fashioned herself into one in whom art and nature are indistinguishable:

> A *Worke* of *Art* and *Grace* (from *Head* and *Heart*)
> that makes a *Worke* of *Wonder*) thou hast done;
> Where *Art*, seems *Nature*; *Nature*, seemeth *Art*;
> and, *Grace*, in *both*, makes *all* out-shine the *Sunne*. (3)

Jonathan Sawday quite rightly asserts that Davies of Hereford, like his contemporaries (including Sir John), employed "riddling, correspondence-laden, tropes and similes" in their quest to "describe the texture of the cosmos" (*Body* 144). Nevertheless, in many ways Davies of Hereford here sounds more like the artist Sir John satirizes in "Hymne XII" than like a member of the same school. In asking his new Muses to accept this sacrifice, and by implication to accept his poetics as well, he asks them to sacrifice more than he may have been aware.

What I have been suggesting throughout this chapter is that Pembroke and Cary both appreciated the strategies for self-representation espoused by Elizabeth, and recognized also an increasing pressure to submit to a representational mode in which the female viewed is constructed as entirely knowable by a fixed viewer with a comprehensive gaze. But to appreciate is not to imitate; for the latter, neither Pembroke nor Cary had the ability nor, in my view, the will. In Elizabeth Tudor's England, as the *Ditchley* portrait so effectively conveys, the Law-giver and the land are one: her name is England. To be a citizen of one, therefore, is to be subject to the other. Like her uncle, Cary lived in Oxfordshire, the county Elizabeth Tudor stands on in the *Ditchley* portrait; her place, like his, was under the queen's feet. Pembroke, too, knew herself a dependent subject. What such works as the *Ditchley* portrait celebrate is (among other things) Elizabeth Tudor's autonomy: the queen in that picture is not confined by domestic bounds as Elizabeth Cary was for so many years both before and after her marriage. The virgin queen controls her physical world and her body; in contrast to the queens Pembroke and Cary portray, Egypt's Cleopatra, Edward's Isabel and Herod's Mariam, there is no husband or lover in this picture—no one, indeed, to share power with or lose it to. Pembroke and Cary were both married as teenagers, destined from childhood for arranged marriages to strangers, their bodies subject to another. Such a woman's own bounds are penetrable, and she has limited power to break the bounds set about her, between her(e) and elsewhere. To Cary in particular, whose power was much less than Pembroke's, a depiction like the *Ditchley* portrait offers both an unattainable ideal, in its image of autonomous English womanhood, and an unwelcome reality, in its image of domestic subjection.

And yet Cary, too, shows us another way. The young translator of Ortelius's *Théâtre*, the still-young author of *Mariam*, is also the future recusant, who in middle age chose despite tremendous opposition to become a spiritual citizen of Rome, to resist by her recusancy the bounds English Protestant Nationalism set to her affiliation and identity. In producing the very first English translation of Ortelius's popular atlas,[150] Cary was also participating in "the increasingly lively discussion of the possible forms which imagined communities could take in the British Isles" as elsewhere (Hadfield 109-110). Once she became Catholic Cary could claim, not two bodies, exactly, but two places in two different hierarchies, two subjectivities that could not easily be read as equivalent or consistent with one another. She could not become both mortal woman (less than any man) and mystic prince (greater than any Englishman), like that other Elizabeth.[151] She could and did, however, become both married Englishwoman, subject to her husband as/and to her king (which James I never tired of pointing out), and spiritual citizen of another, mystic nation, defined by an incorporeal reality that allowed her to transcend the rules to which that first body subjected her.[152] In this way, then, Cary eventually became a member of one of the largest virtual communities—that of adherents to the Roman Catholic Church.

Although Heather Wolfe's narrative of Cary's conversion begins in the 1620s, the 1597 *Mirror* strongly suggests that she was interested in both Catholicism and in travel some years before writing *Mariam*. The descriptions of the maps in every edition of the *Théâtre* are founded on (at least) two assumptions: that there are as many ways of living as there are nations, and that some countries are better than others.[153] Of the many French editions of Ortelius that Cary could have seen, the 1588/90 *Théâtre* is noteworthy for its unqualified praise of Italy as the best country of all: it hails Italy (and here I use Cary's own translation from the French) as the "queene of Christendome and princess of the world" (f. 34). This Italy is of no particular place or time; it is a country where the vagaries of secular power and politics are irrelevant, and of which any European may become a citizen. It is a land that rules all people, yet has no human ruler. Cary makes use of the tools available to her as a translator, furthermore, to mark her recognition and endorsement of this privileging of Italy over other countries, including her own England. For instance, the title Cary gives to her translation of the description of England is relatively plain; Italy's name, however, she has chosen to make unusually ornate (Fig. 18). This difference in titles reflects both awareness and respect for the difference between the texts that follow them, for whereas Cary's source text contains one of the most flattering descriptions of Italy that I have yet seen in a sixteenth-century atlas, it damns England with faint praise. In Cary's translation, England is "The best ile of all Europe," but only because it is "very rich of sheepe, the which (because there be no wolves in all the ile) feede securely in the fieldes. These sheepe have the best wooll" (f.5v). Cultural and political power merit no mention. From such evidence as this, then, we know that Cary was, from an early age, a student of texts designed—as a dramatic script is also designed—to invite the reader to imagine moving through space, and that she was from an early age a student of texts that foregrounded the permeabilities of borders between nations and that invited one to imagine alternative citizenships.[154] To cross a border, turn a page.

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[150] The first was printed in 1602 (for a detailed discussion of this point, see *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici*, Vol. IIIA, ed. Peter van der Krogt, 332:31 and 333:31.

[151] Or mother and wife, queen and king, as Susan Frye points out.

[152] In her own eyes, and in the eyes at least of at least *some* others, anyway.

[153] Cary's Salome appears to operate according to the same assumptions, for she imagines a better life in terms of a different country: a different place under different laws, as I discuss in my third chapter.

This is not, however, to suggest that either Cary or Pembroke denied the materiality of body or place. The queens who populate the pages of their dramatic works are vocal, mobile, chaste—and also sexual, mortal women. The mask of youth so essential to Elizabeth Tudor's self-representations in the 1590s is rejected by Pembroke's Cleopatra, as it is by both Pembroke and Clifford in their seventeenth-century portraits. Mariam, too, learns the virtue of abandoning her quest to be or seem *Semper Eadem*, always the same. Such resistance was difficult, however, in an era characterized by increasing pressure on women to assume just such masks. This is the subject of my next chapter.

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[154] And one of the uses to which an atlas was put then as now was to guide the reader's imagining himself—or herself—travelling to and visiting different nations.

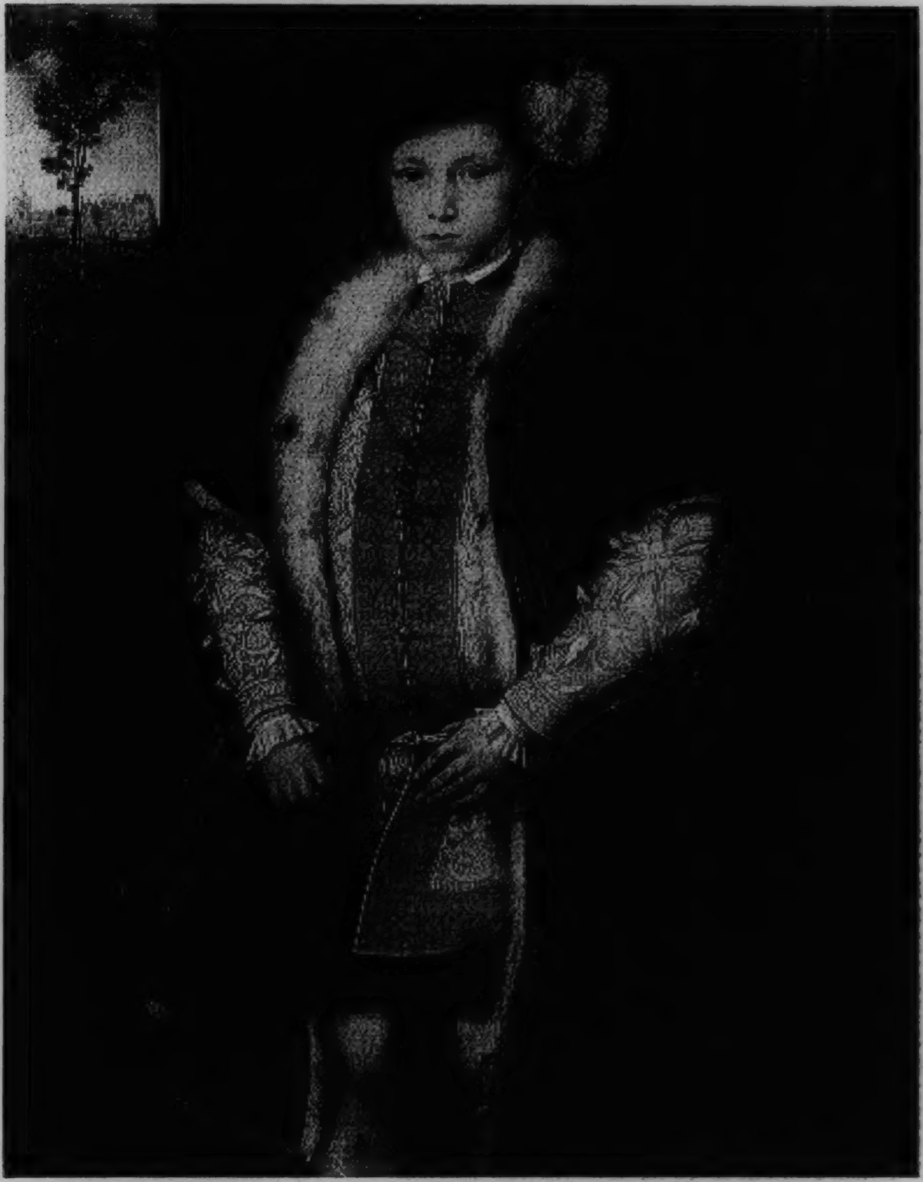


Figure 5
*Edward VI* by William Scrots (attr.), 1546-47
The Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen

Figure 6
*Princess Elizabeth* by William Scrots (attr.), 1546-47
The Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen

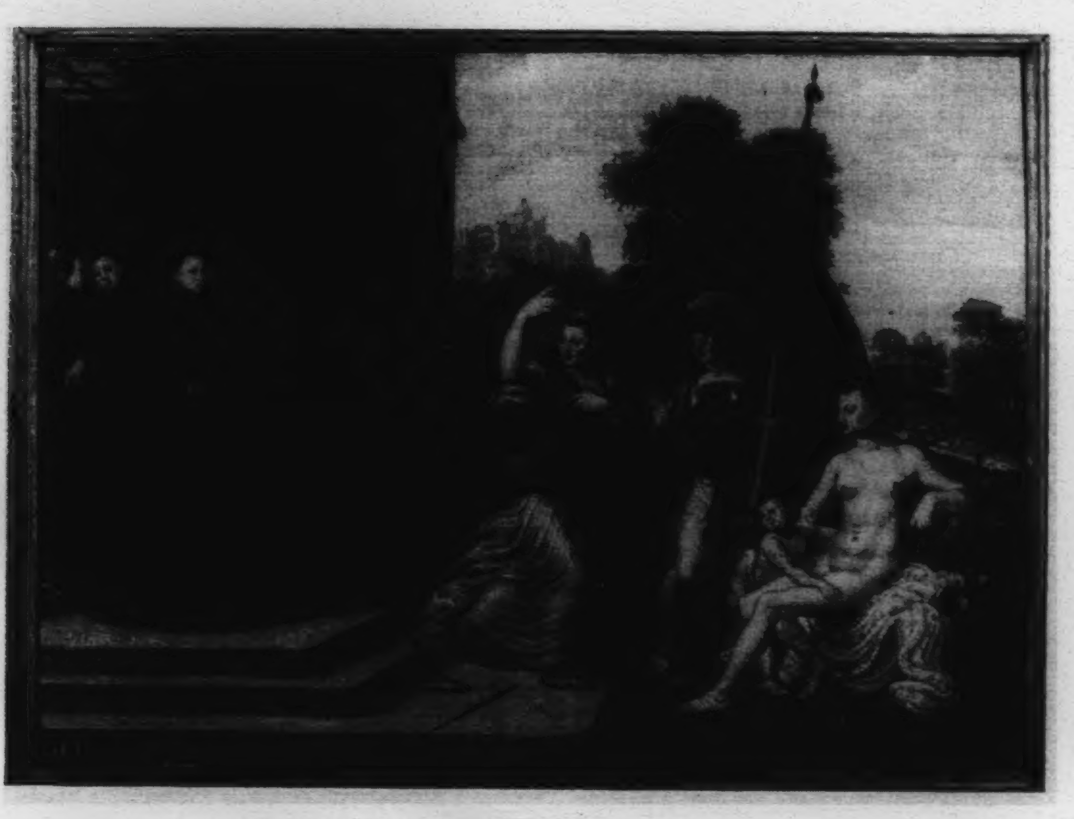


Figure 7
*Queen Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses* by HE, 1579
The Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen

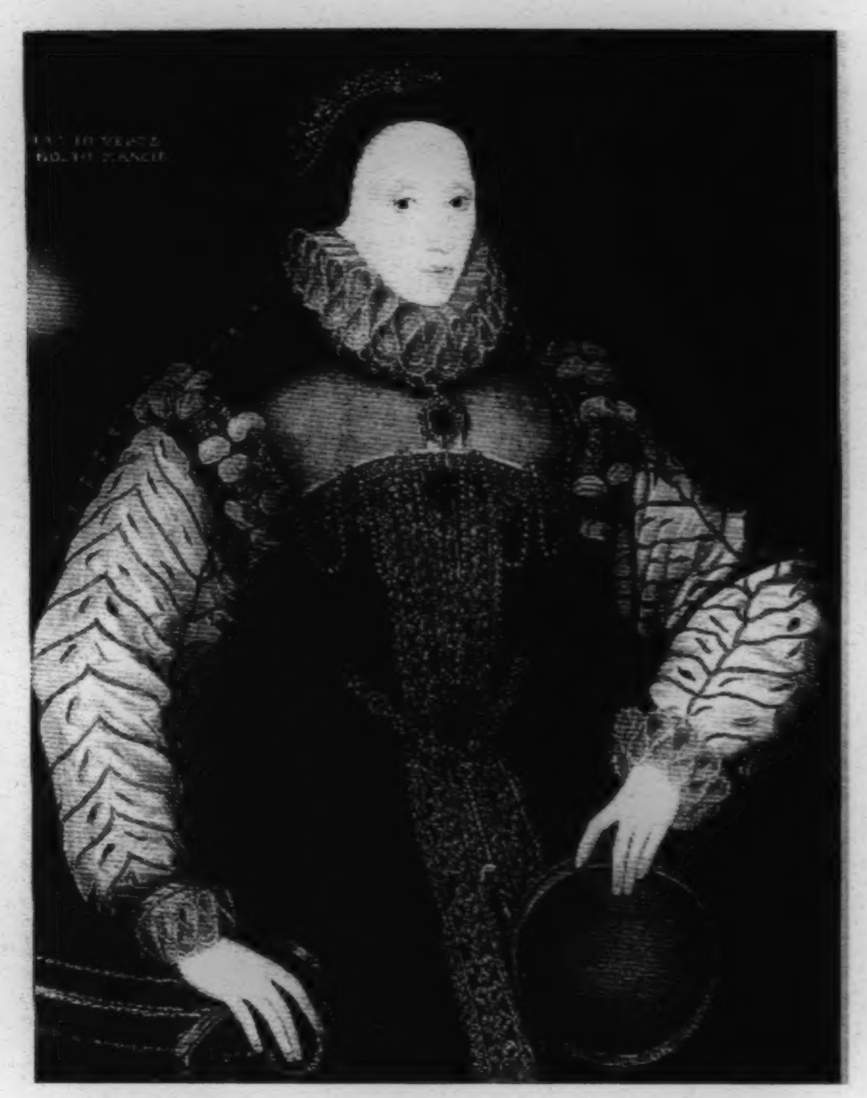


**Figure 8**
*Elizabeth I*: The "Sieve" Portrait by George Gower, 1579
Lane Fine Art Ltd.

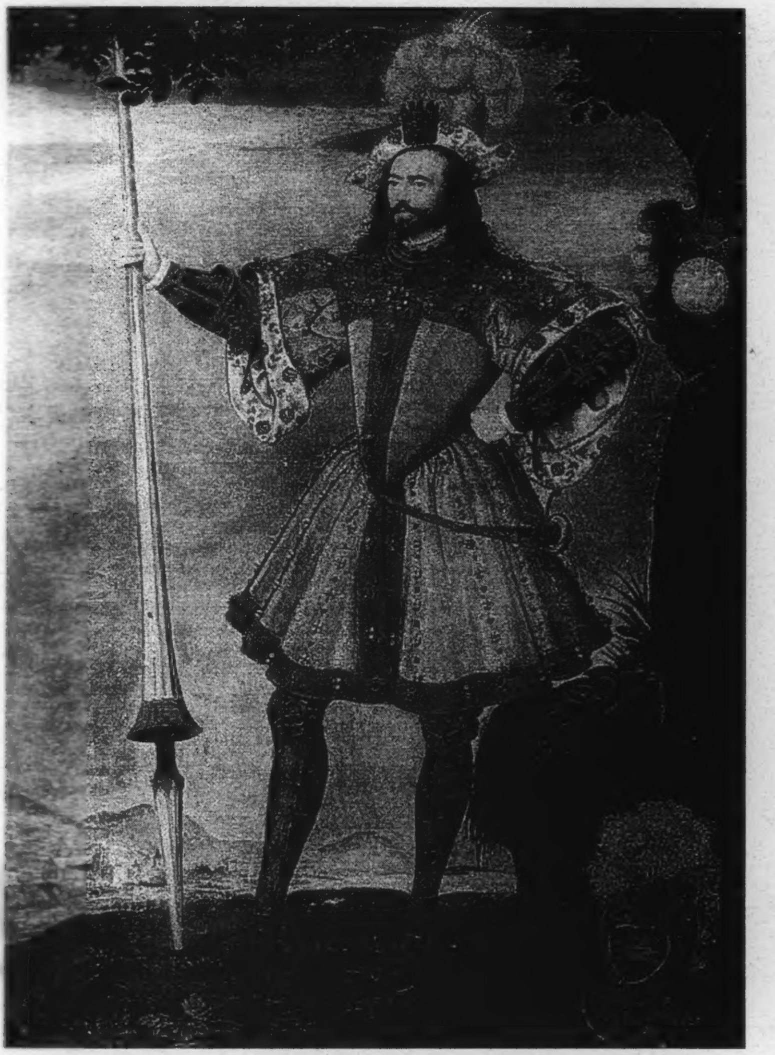


Figure 9
*George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland* by Nicholas Hilliard, *c.* 1590
National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

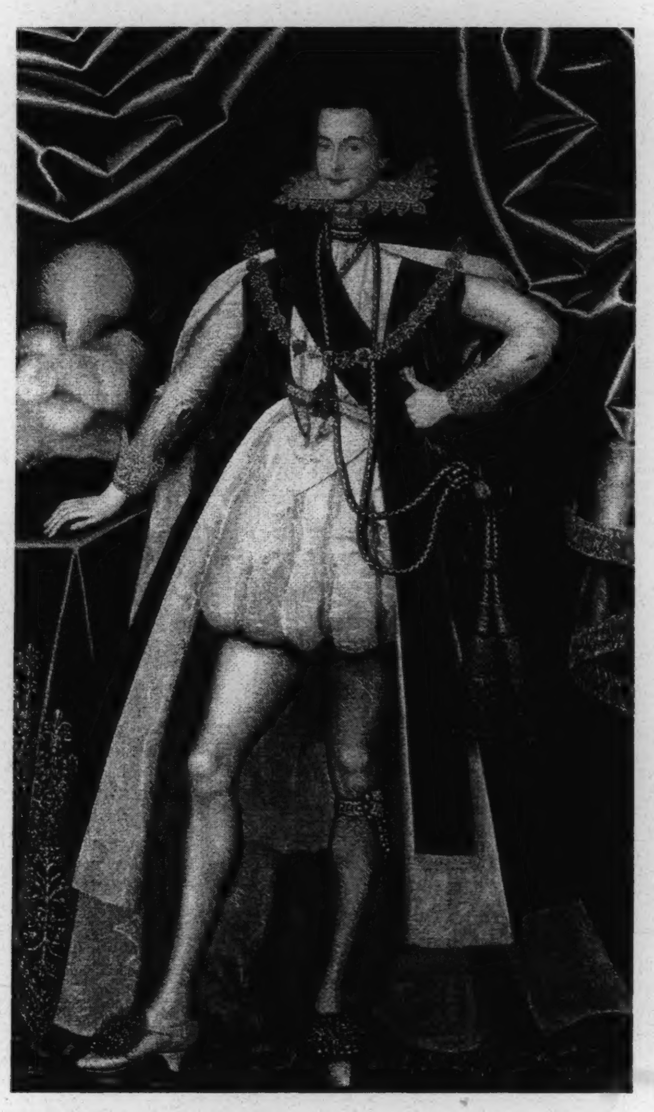


Figure 10
*George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham* by William Larkin (attr.), *c.* 1616
National Portrait Gallery, London

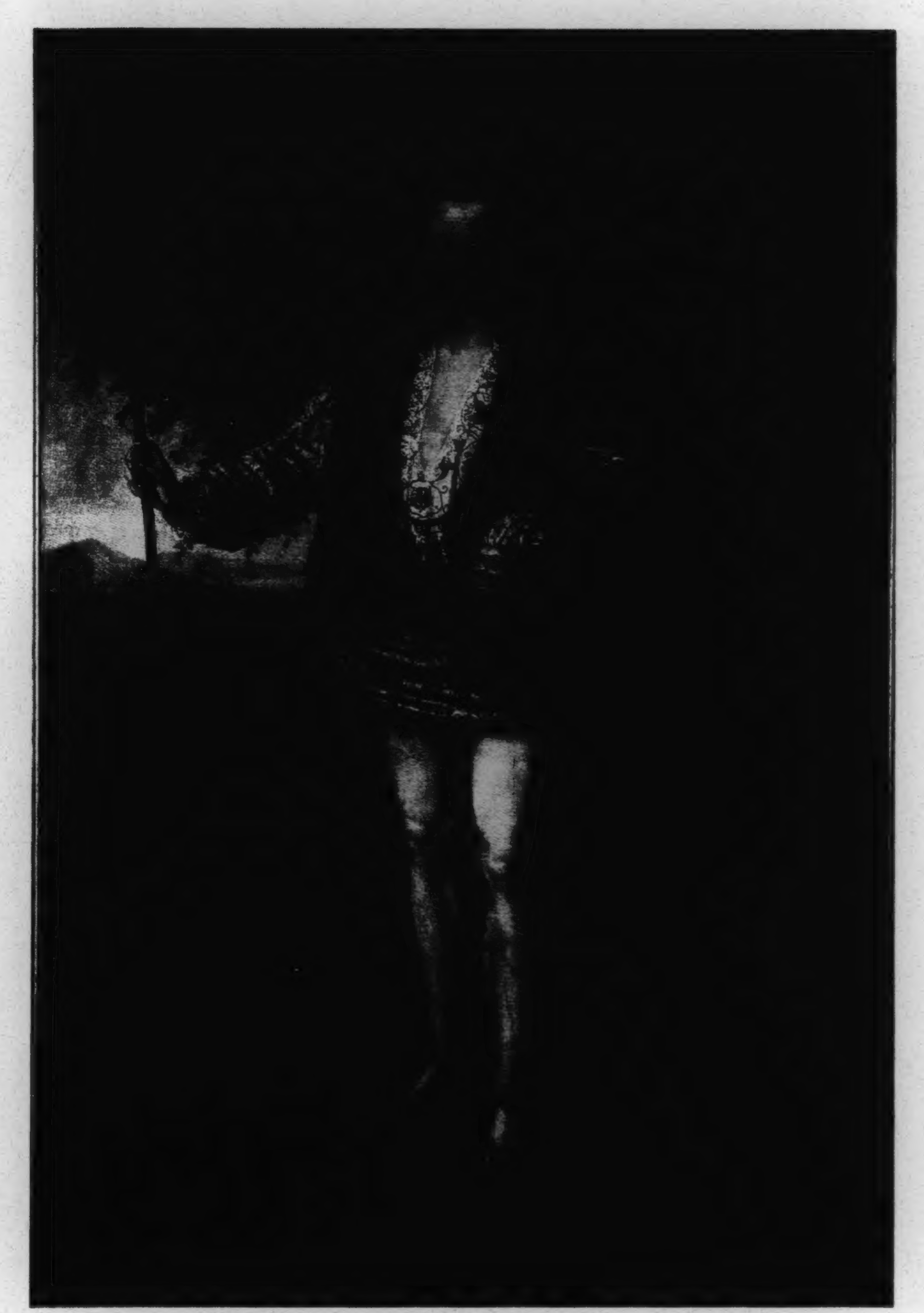


Figure 11
*Captain Thomas Lee* by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, 1594
Tate Britain/Art Resource

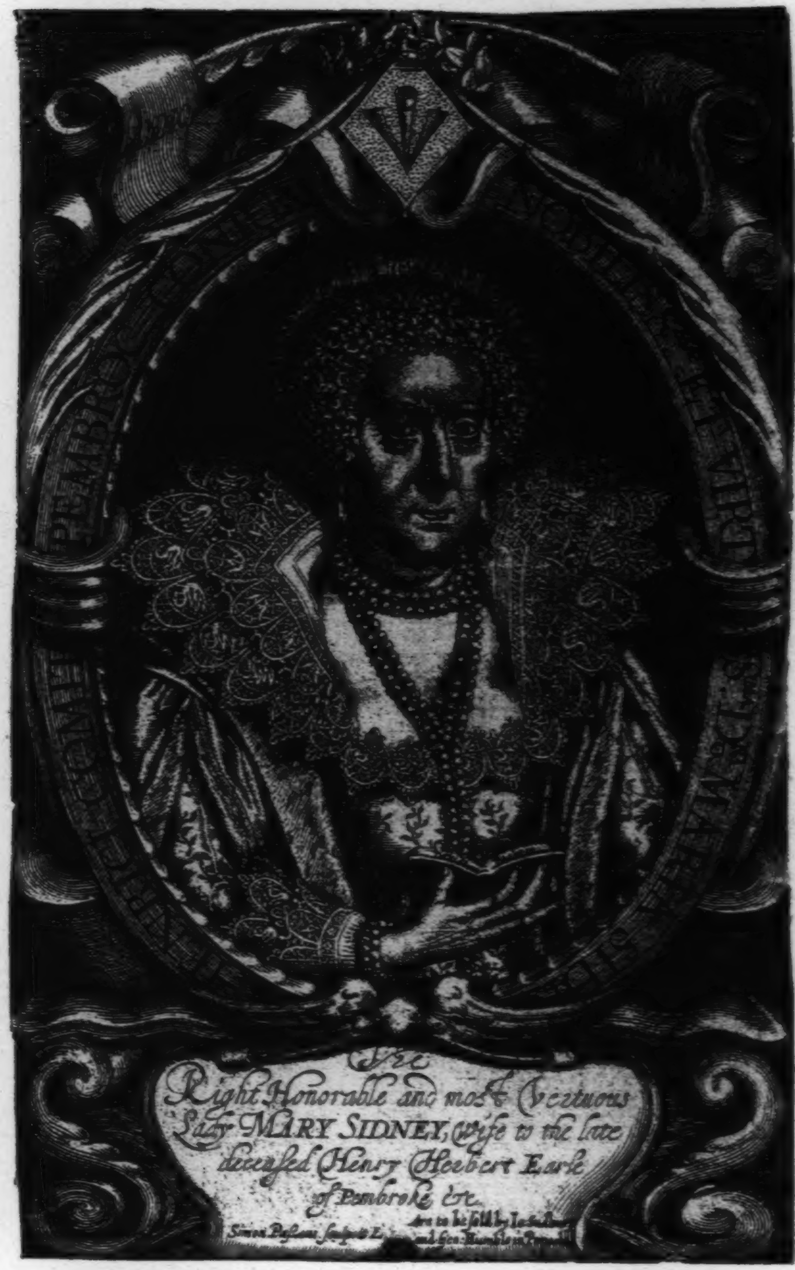

The
Right Honorable and most Vertuous
Lady MARY SIDNEY, wife to the late
deceased Henry Herbert Earle
of Pembroke &c.

Figure 12
*Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke* by Simon van de Passe, 1616
National Portrait Gallery, London

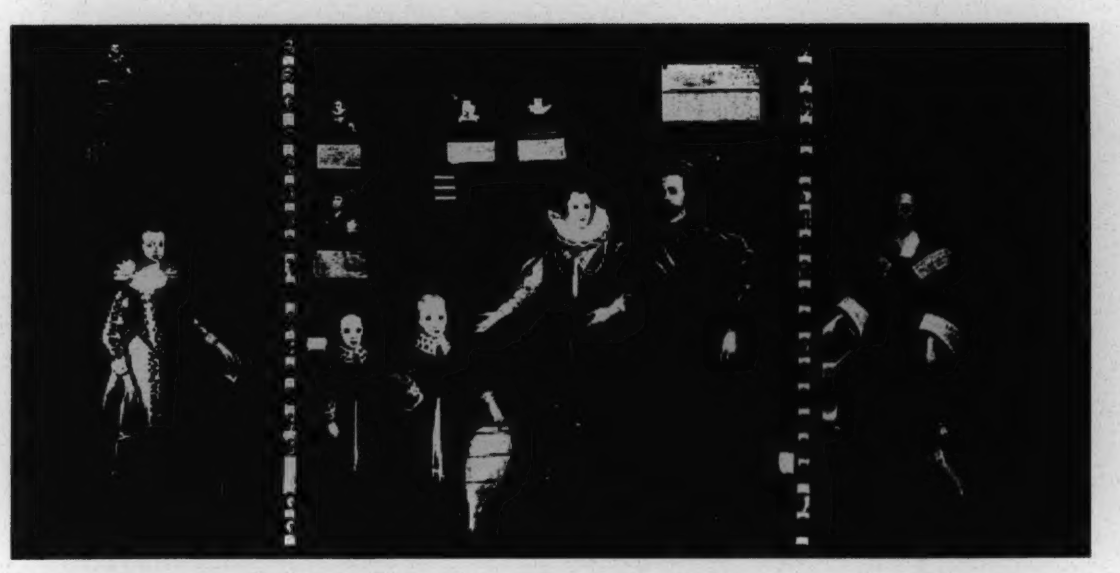


Figure 13
Lady Anne Clifford's *Great Picture* by Jan van Belcamp (attr.), 1646
Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, Cumbria

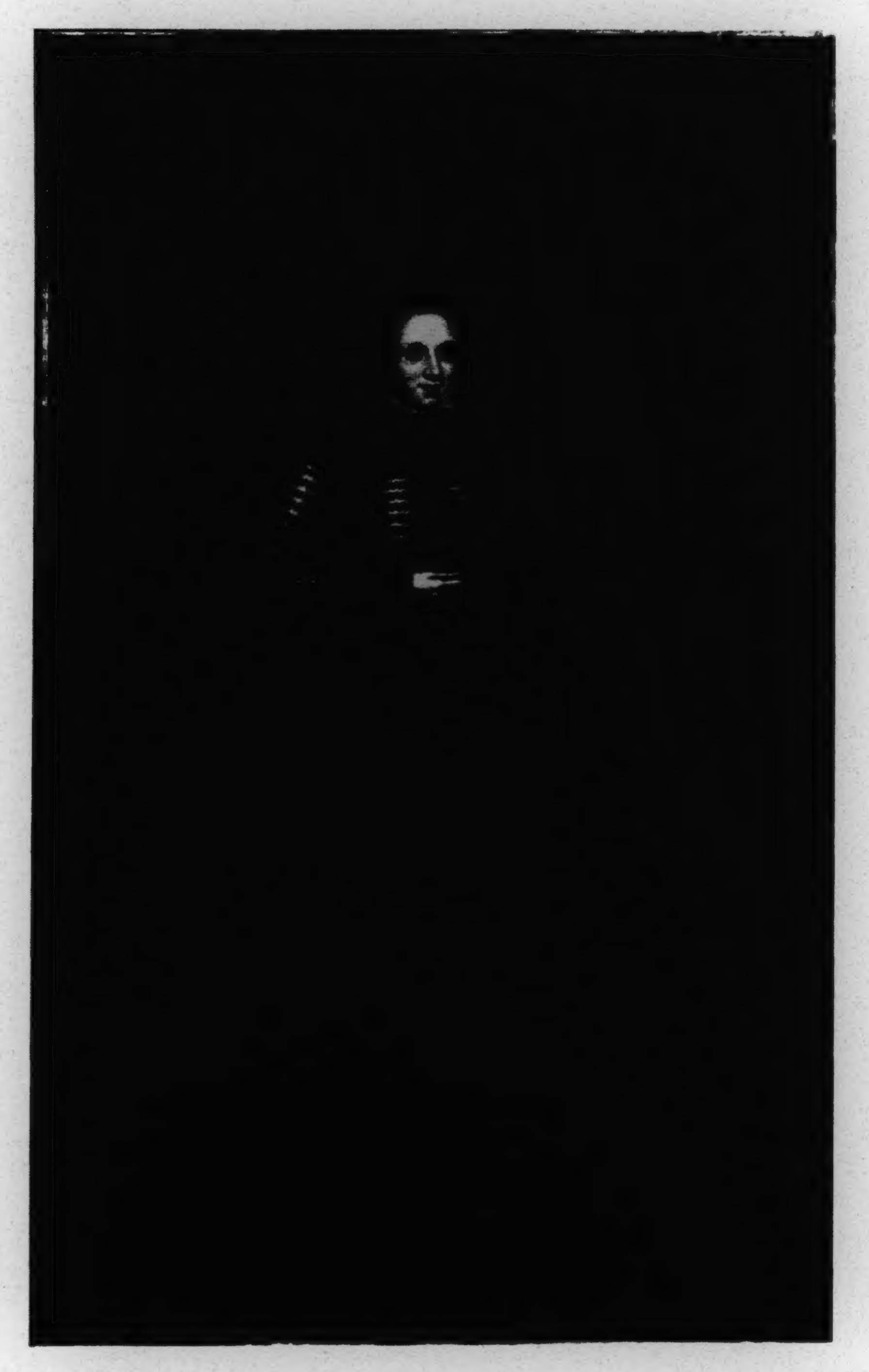


Figure 14
*Elizabeth, Viscountess Falkland* by Paul van Somer, *c.* 1620
by permission of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Texas

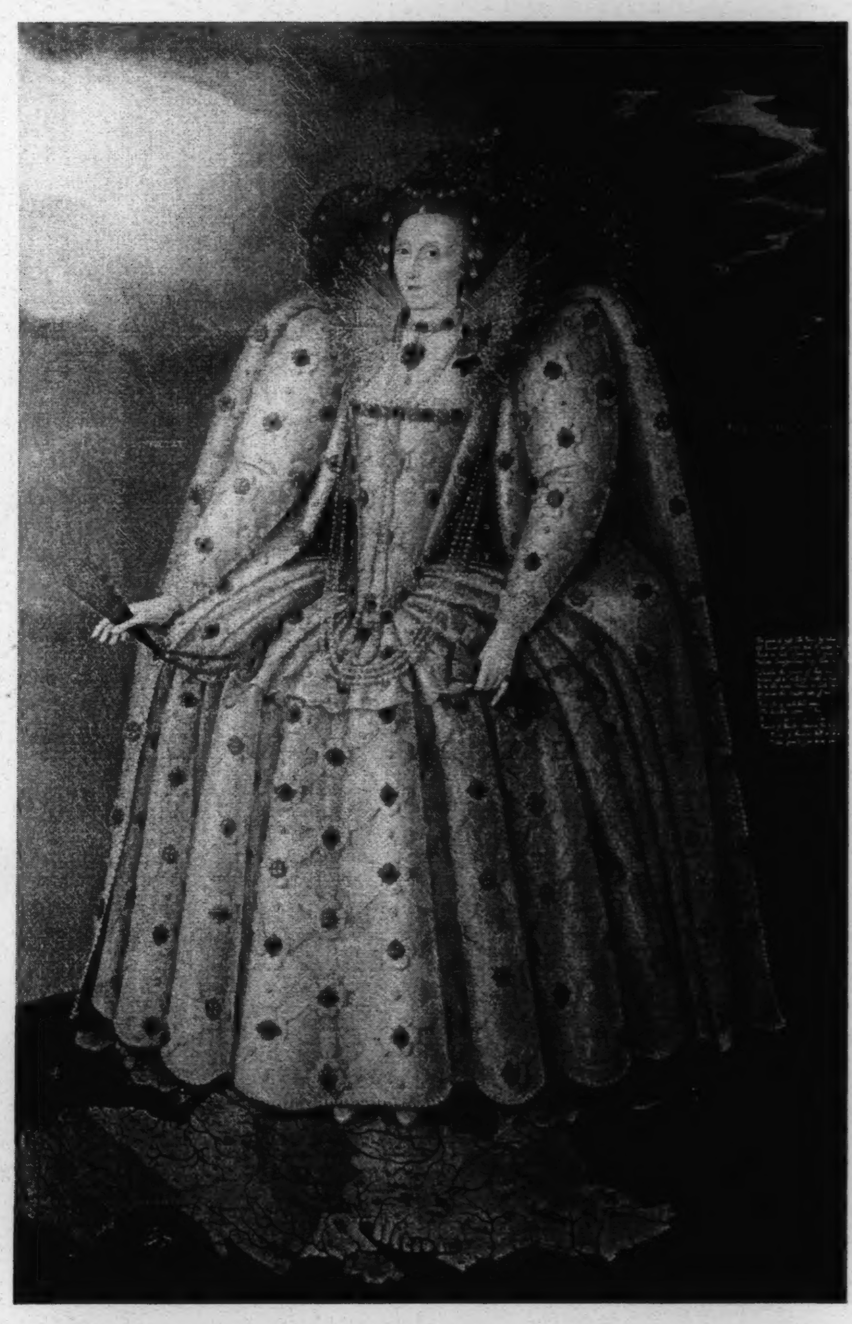


Figure 15
*Elizabeth I*: The "Ditchley" Portrait by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *c*. 1592
National Portrait Gallery, London

Figure 16
Elizabeth I: The "Rainbow" Portrait by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, c. 1600-02
by permission of the Marquess of Salisbury

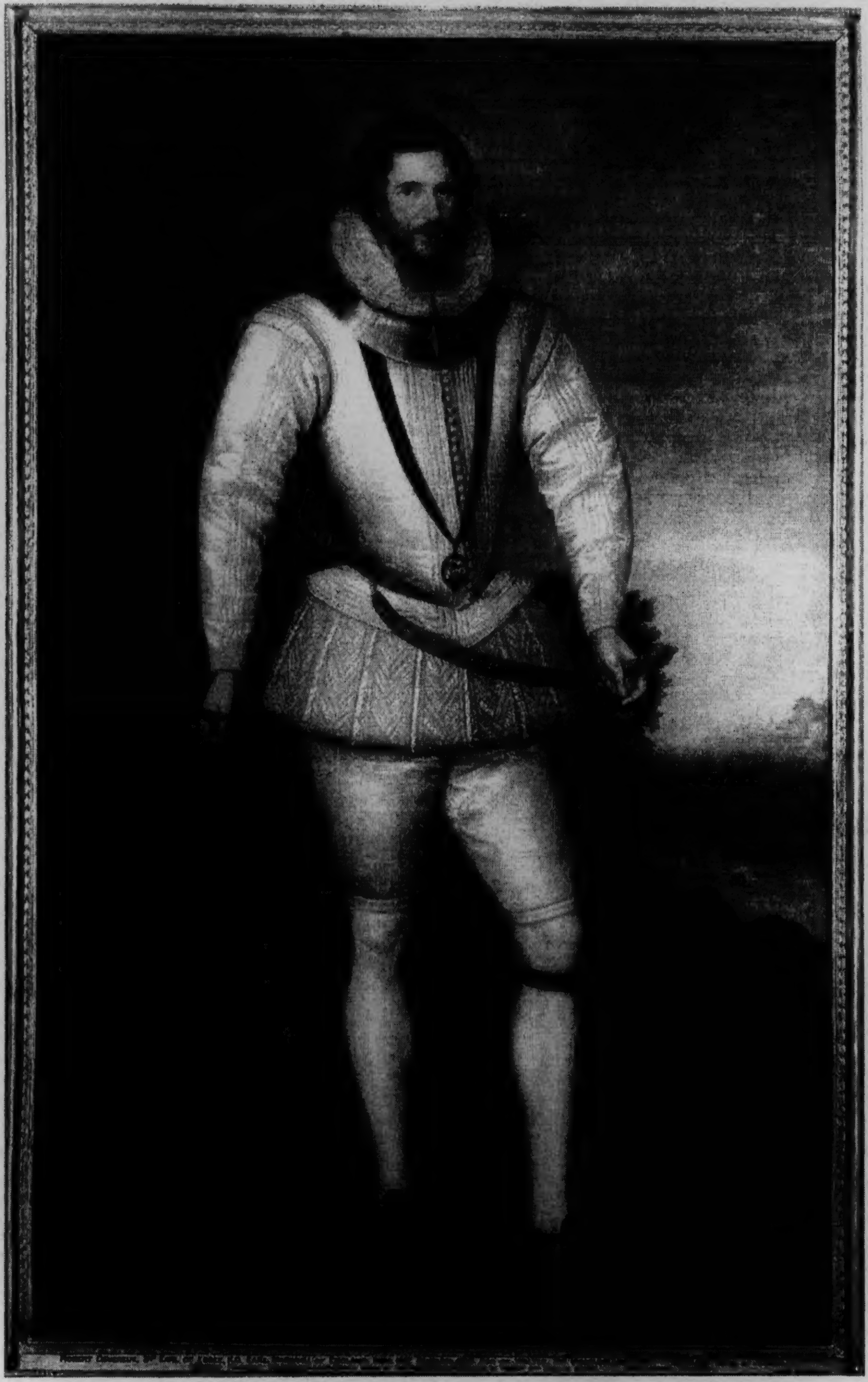


Figure 17
Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, 1596 by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estates

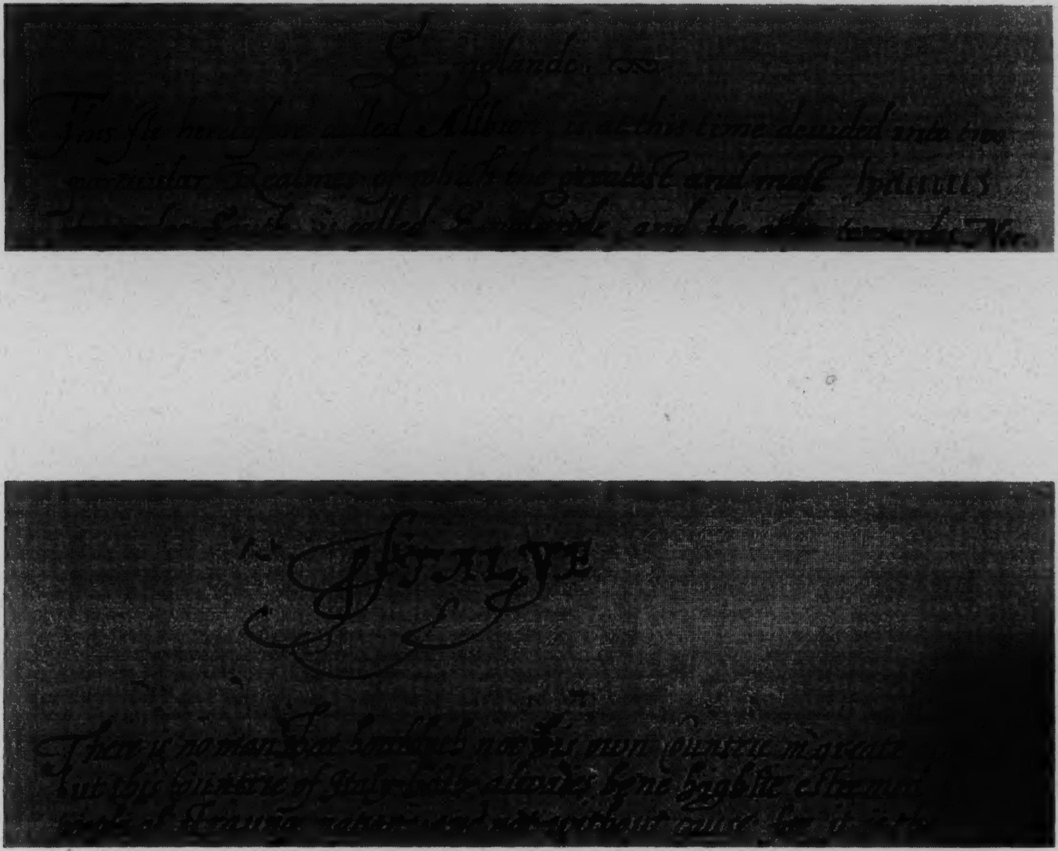


Figure 18 (a and b)
Details of f.5v and f.3r, The Mirror of the Worlde by Abraham Ortelius, trans. Elizabeth Tanfield [Cary], c. 1597
by permission of the Vicar and Wardens of St. John the Baptist Church, Burford, Oxfordshire

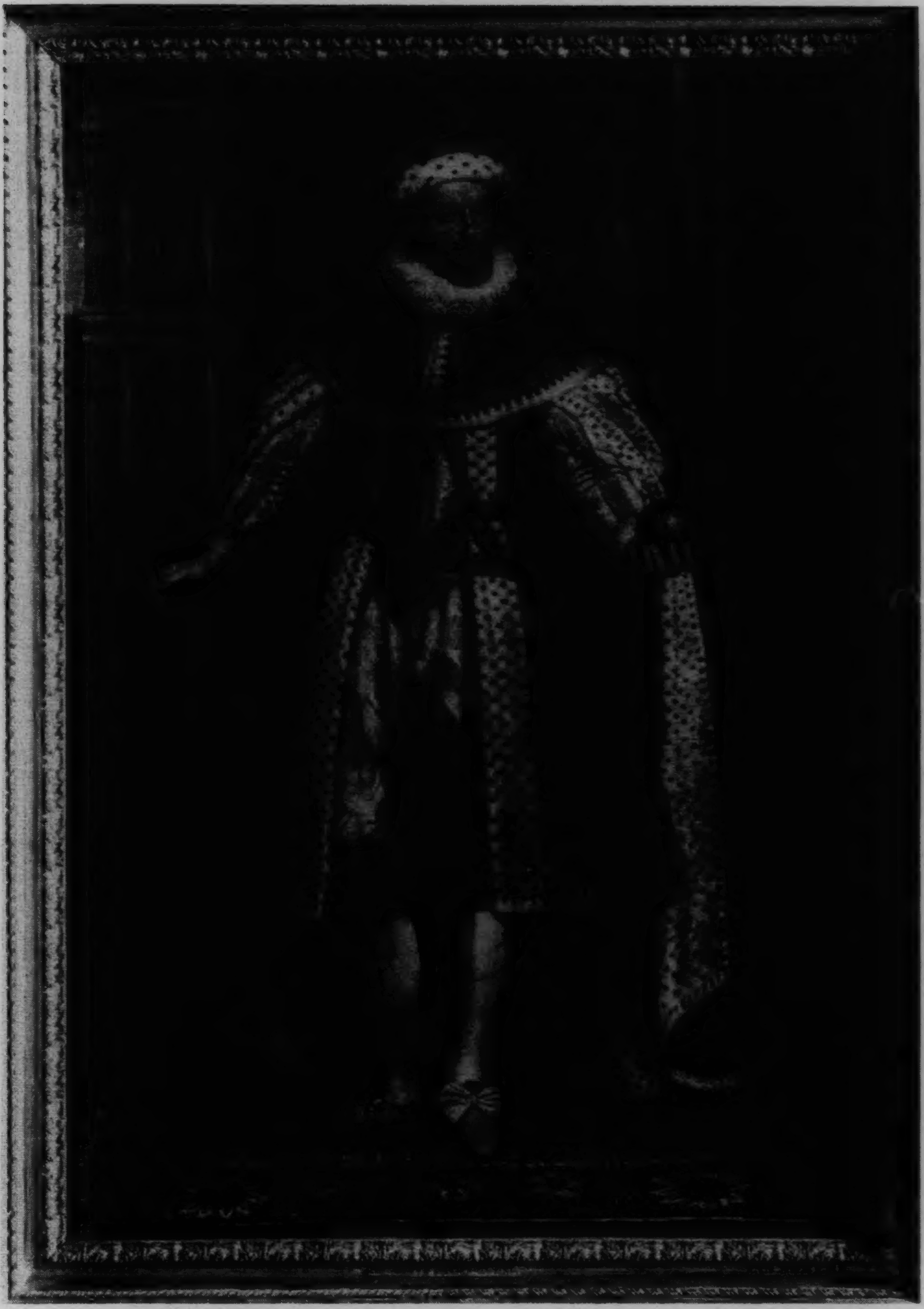
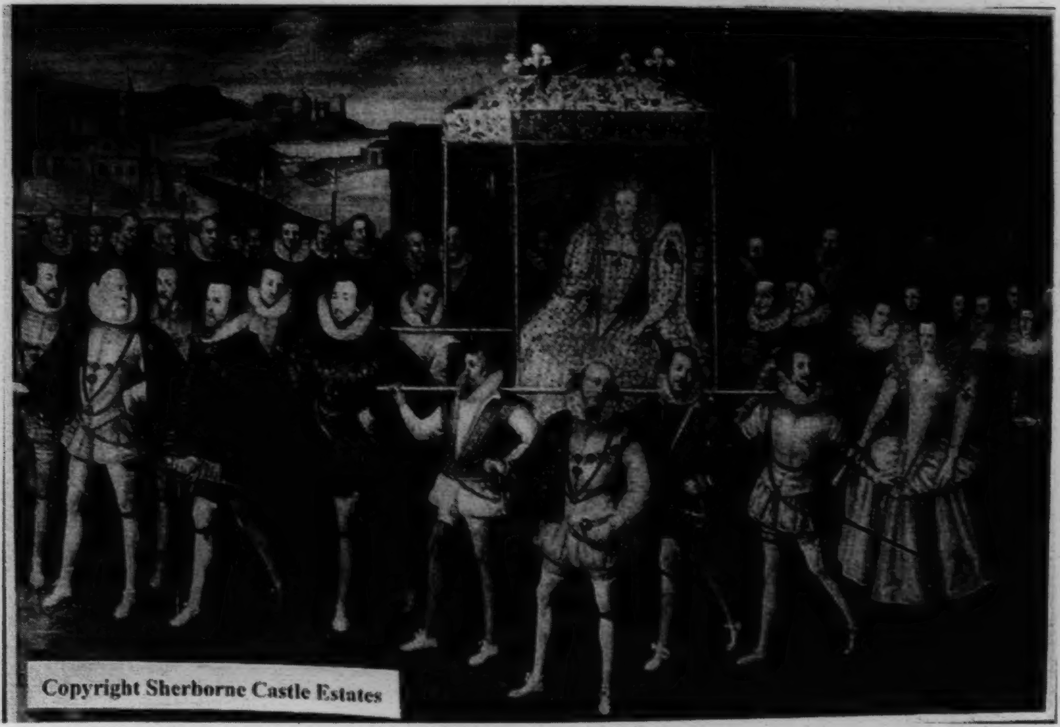


Figure 19
King James I by Paul van Somer, c. 1619
The Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen



Copyright Sherborne Castle Estates

Figure 20
The Procession Portrait by Robert Peake (attr.), c. 1601
Mr. J. K. Wingfield Digby, Sherborne Castle, Dorset

# Chapter Two

## "An Idoll Made": Wavering Nature and the Dangers of Amazement

> He amazd stood wauering to and fro,
> Tweene ioie and feare to be beguild, againe he burnt in loue,
> Againe with feeling he began his wished hope to proue ....
> \- Arthur Golding, *Metamorphosis* X.312-14

> For it is, in some senses, the fascination with that "feminized" median surface of one's own creation that must be conquered: if it threatens petrification, one must first petrify it. Thus Petrarch's characteristic descriptive moves—fragmentation and reification—are, like the moves of Perseus, designed not only to neutralize but also to appropriate the threat.
> – Nancy J. Vickers, "'The Blazon of Sweet Beauty's Best'" p. 112.

### INTRODUCTION: ANATOMY, ANXIETY, AMBITION

Although Paul van Somer's 1620 portrait of Elizabeth Cary may tell us a good deal about her husband's allegiance to the values and fashions of the Jacobean court, Cary, no less than Pembroke, could and did recognize and appreciate the effects achieved by Queen Elizabeth's chosen mode of self-representation. This, as we have seen, is a mode that resists identifying the female subject with either her body or her place, and resists allowing the viewer to believe that he sees, and thus knows, her perfectly. However, with the change in regime at the turn of the seventeenth century came increasing pressure on women to pose for the viewer as Cary does in van Somer's portrait: to represent herself as entirely legible, and her viewer as authoritative interpreter of what he sees. To do so, she must stand still and be viewed; she must be viewed *as* standing still. Furthermore, she must be recognized as fixed in feature as in place, neither desirous nor capable of even the kinds of movement (of lips or of eyes) that express the inner motions of her mind. She must be, as a painted woman is, unnaturally perfect in feature; she must, as Pygmalion's statue did before Venus transformed her into flesh, stand as both product and proof of the viewer's mastery. And she must appear (must be seen by others) to want to do so.

This imperative helps to account for the increasing vogue of the English blazon during the 1590s, and for some of the changes to the blazon's style and emphasis that accompanied its rise in popularity. Texts in every genre were being printed in record numbers as the publishing industry mushroomed, of course, and the blazon had been popular among courtly poets ever since Petrarch left the world what Nancy J. Vickers has aptly termed his "legacy of fragmentation" ("Diana" 107). As Patricia Parker, Eve Kosovsky Sedgwick, and Jonathan Sawday among others have shown, building in part on the work of Vickers, the blazon also functions to display, disperse and dismember the female body as an assertion of masculinity in the service of homosocial competition, in a wide variety of genres. But more particularly, as David Norbrook points out, "the vogue in the sixteenth century for the blazon, the detailed enumeration of the parts of the woman's body, can be seen as reflecting the new scientific mentality with its mastering gaze, its passion for mapping the world in order to gain power over it" (43). This mentality was, as we have seen, gaining new force at the turn of the seventeenth century, which was also an era of political and artistic instability and transition. For these and no doubt many other reasons, then, the turn of the seventeenth century in England was a time in which, as Pembroke and Cary were well aware, the means whereby a man might establish—and "blaze"—his artistic, political, sexual, and physical power were very much in question, and most anxiously sought. Both *Antonius* and *Mariam* depict worlds in which, when possession, occupation, or conquest are at stake, "The male rhetorician, both politician and artist," reaches for the blazon and "places the shield of eloquence between himself and the 'world of harms' that surrounds him" (Vickers, "Blazon" 112).[155] Through the early modern blazon, this "world of harms" is first figured as female, and then brandished defensively, like Medusa's head, or disposed of. As Pembroke's and Cary's works both dramatize, the result is damaging to men and women alike, especially when the blazon is in the new, anatomizing style.

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[155] Sawday's discussion of the etymology of the term thoroughly establishes its associations with violence: "The word 'blazon' was derived from the heraldic device worn on a shield (*OED*). But this meaning was itself derived from the literal sense (in Old French) of shield itself, so that the 'blazon' was not originally a proclamation, an ornamentation, an illumination, or a device for 'blazoning' heraldic codes. All of these were much later senses. Instead, the 'blazon' *was* the shield, a protective instrument for use in war" (191-92). Elsewhere he asserts that "to 'blazon' a body is also to hack it into pieces, in order to flourish fragments of men and women as trophies" (ix).

In the early sixteenth century, Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) took as his motto the phrase *Plus Ultra* (Yet Further), replacing the *Ne plus ultra* of antiquity, and in so doing aggressively and ambitiously announcing his programme of unlimited exploration and expansion (Sawday, *Body* 25). As Sawday points out, this programme was contemporary with the development of the Renaissance "culture of dissection," and the discourses of the two programmes of exploration informed one another in important ways. As a consequence, in the early stages of what has come to be known as Vesalian anatomy the body was seen by Renaissance anatomists and poets alike as an object of colonization, to be explored, mapped out, and put to use. Indeed, to many during this time of aggressive imperialism, "No project seemed more promising than the microcosmic discovery of the human body" (Sawday "Dissecting" 134). Understanding the body as microcosmic continent to be discovered was, however, superseded in the seventeenth century by the Cartesian model:

> [The] Cartesian formulation of 1637 which suggested that the operations of the body have to be analysed in terms of the 'many different automata or moving machines the industry of man can devise' represented the summation of half a century of voyages into the interior to which Descartes was the heir. After Descartes, the image of the body as America was to be gradually … replaced by the image of the body as a machine. (Sawday, *Body* 28)

This "paradigmatic change," as Sawday also argues, cannot be explained simply in terms of science's progress towards increased accuracy. Rather, it is a response to the "profound level of insecurity" that had, by the turn of the seventeenth century in Europe, begun to result from the "riot of geographical metaphors" generated by the earlier paradigm (*Body* 28). Descartes' "machine-body" took over because, for anatomists who had seen themselves as explorers of new continents, "the body's interior had become too vast, too complex; it demanded a pattern of investigation which would examine not its coasts, rivers, and tributaries, but something different" (*Body* 28). It was beginning to appear that, no matter how far one traveled into the body's ever unfolding interior, one would never be able to say with confidence, "*ne plus ultra*." There was always more.

If the Cartesian paradigm alleviated the anatomist's insecurity over the body's unknowability, as Sawday maintains, then it seems to me that this is largely due to the solidity of the machine-body's parts. Fluidity (and not that of blood only) has long been associated with femaleness, and it is no coincidence that the examples Sawday gives of metaphorical body parts that were rejected in favour of the Cartesian machine, "coasts, rivers, and tributaries," are all inescapably wet. Fluids have no shape. They can be measured, but not divided; they have no certain surface, no certain depth. And they are virtually absent from Renaissance anatomical diagrams. A machine, on the other hand—even Harvey's heart-pump—is solid. If the whole body can only be known once its unknowable fluids are disposed of, it must therefore be known as something—a machine, rather than a continent—of which fluids form no part. Thus the new metaphor of the machine was, to borrow from Foucault, an "'operating table'" (or a *tabula* on which to carry out operations of division, classification, and construction) from which all fluids had been drained.[156] At the turn of the seventeenth century, however, the transition from the first phase of what Sawday terms "the culture of dissection," in which the body was understood still as a microcosm of the universe and treated as a continent to be explored, to the second, which was to culminate some decades later in the Cartesian model of the body not as microcosm but as machine, was by no means complete. At this point anatomy still confronted not only "the endless *divisibility* of the female body" but also the endless fluidity of any body (Sawday, *Body* 206).[157] Levels of anxiety caused by the body's endless fluidity were peaking.

At the same time, and for many of the same reasons, the science of surveillance was beginning to come into its own. And I think Sawday is quite right to connect specifically modern forms of surveillance with both the anatomizing impulse of the culture of dissection and the tradition of "constant surveillance" to which, as Peter Stallybrass has observed, women in the Renaissance were constantly subjected (126). But we also need to bear in mind that the particular culture of both dissection and surveillance which may well be said to characterize seventeenth-century England developed concurrently with the equally new scopic regime of single-point perspective. It is not only that "Anatomy and perspective shared a common tendency, in that both "were concerned with volume rather than surface," as Sawday asserts, and that "for the artists of the period, ... the discovery of interior space was as important as the ability to render surfaces into convincing registers of depth" (*Body* 85). The interest of both the anatomist and the anatomizing perspectival artist cannot be separated from their shared commitment to constructing the expert's position relative to the body viewed. Both strive to represent the body—particularly the female body—in such a way as to suggest that there is nothing the viewer has missed, nothing about either her exterior or interior, that has not been fully captured and known.

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[156] See *The Order of Things*, p. xvii.

[157] See, for instance, Sawday's discussion of John Donne, whom he characterizes as follows: "This sense of an inability to understand and hence control physical process never left Donne. He was always alert to the potential defeat of reason, once the body had become the object of his gaze. The body's interior architecture concealed dizzying depths and capacities, reservoirs of fluid, in which the imagination could soon lose itself" (18).

However, although it has long been recognized that the new "scientific mentality," joined with the longstanding fear of eloquence's effeminizing effects, led eventually to the seventeenth century's rejection of all things metaphysical, I am not arguing that the blazon was necessarily becoming more concrete and particular and less metaphorical during the 1590s. (After all, during this decade John Donne was just getting warmed up!) What I do note is a decrease in tolerance for the "poetry of tension, of flux, of alternation between the scattered and the gathered" that according to Vickers characterizes Petrarch's *Rime Sparse* ("Diana" 107), and an increasing commitment to a poetry of fixation, in which the blazoned female body is not so much "scattered and gathered" as it is anatomized and inventoried.[158] Any blazon perpetuates male anxiety and directs it towards woman, for the blazon simultaneously assuages and exacerbates in its wielder his perception of being vulnerable to what Vickers names as "the threat of dissolution or dismemberment that haunts the subject-object structure of the Petrarchan poetry of praise, in which the male subject is always potentially an Actaeon, torn apart after his vision of an unattainable Diana" ("Diana" 99). And Vickers's comment on Petrarch applies equally well to his imitators: "The poet's labor is vain only in the sense that verse will never successfully represent her; and yet each failure provokes another attempt; each fragmentary portrait, because fragmentary, generates another" ("Blazon" 111). Nevertheless, the blazon as Petrarch developed it does—however problematically—celebrate the mobile female figure, frequently in the figure of Diana, with transformative power over the Endimion or Actaeon who views her. And, as I argue in the previous chapter, a representational mode based on the principle of dispersion has potential advantages for women's self-representations. But when Pembroke's protégé Samuel Daniel dismembers his beloved in his influential sonnet sequence *Delia* (1592), he does so in order to assemble a much more perfect whole from her remains. Such a poet's kinship with the anatomist and the perspectival artist lies not only in the observers' overtly celebrated commitment to accurately representing what they see, but also in their fantasy of power over the flesh, the power to arrest decay in the very face of decay. Such a strategy comforts with its assertion of the viewer's physical and moral stability, its projection of all artifice and impermanence onto the one viewed, and its simultaneous claim of permanence for the artist's work itself.

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[158] See also Elizabeth Cropper: "Petrarch in fact never addressed himself to the simple enumeration of Laura's features, even though the experts of the sixteenth century succeeded in finding most of them in his poems, with the exception of her nose, which, to their great dismay, Petrarch seems to have ignored." His work raises "the fascinating problem of how the conventional description of the beautiful woman became so closely identified with a lyric poet who never painted her complete portrait" (386).

However, as Pembroke and Cary both recognize, the man who would imitate Pygmalion in fact depends on woman's cooperation for the felicity of his performance. Consequently, Pygmalion's authority is always already compromised. Only a woman's still perfection proves his mastery of the female form and of his art; as long as Galatea does not move or speak, his work is the only miracle on the scene. If she does moves, however, or if her beauty moves her maker, she proves her Pygmalion a doting fool who has failed to contain entirely the dangerous wavering body, and proves herself that most contemptible of objects, a painted woman. Whereas poets and dramatists like Daniel endorse the new scopic regime with work that offers to place the reader or audience in the position of Pygmalion triumphant, Pembroke, Cary, and Shakespeare in *The*

*Winter's Tale* dramatize the consequences to men and women of living under—or ruling over—such a regime, and the manifold benefits to be gained by valuing flesh over stone.

This focus of this chapter, then, is on the growing ambition among men in the 1590s to imitate not only Perseus but also Pygmalion, the corresponding demand on women to imitate Galatea, and Pembroke's and Cary's active engagement with this significant trend. In the first part of this chapter, I discuss how male writers of the 1590s used the blazon both to assert their power and to attack that of women, and the inevitable anxiety and violence inherent in such poetic practice. More specifically, I consider ways in which the discourse of Pygmalion functions in such writers' work to establish their authority, in part by attacking the authority of the representational strategies favoured by the powerful women they both serve and resist, and I read *Antonius* and *Mariam* as critical interrogations of this discourse. In the second part of this chapter, I demonstrate how this approach to the drama of the period challenges us to reconsider accepted readings of Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra*, and note that although Daniel celebrates the new scopic regime that his patron Pembroke resists, Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* celebrates the many benefits of just such a resistance.

## A. COURTING (IN)CONSTANCY

> Then how is man turnd all *Pygmalion,*
> That knowing these pictures, yet we doate vpon
> The painted statues, or what fooles are we
> So grosly to commit idolatry? – Everard Guilpin, "Satyra Secunda"

In her important discussion of the simultaneous rise of the monarchic encomium and its dark twin the pornographic satire in the final years of Elizabeth's reign, Hannah Betts describes how

> Over the course of the 1590s the blazon continued to appear both in its traditional panegyric mode and in its new sexually descriptive forms. In addition to these more physically detailed catalogs, the blazon was also presented within a series of pornographically charged situations … [featuring] an aggressive hostility toward female virginity and chastity; the depiction of queens or Petrarchan heroines engaged in various

> forms of sexual activity; images of sexual encounters that debunk courtly practices; and references to Elizabeth in sexually compromising contexts. (156)

Betts stresses the social conditions underlying this trend, pointing out that the typical writers of subversive blazons were "'alienated intellectuals,' … members of an educated class eager for social promotion" (157). Such malcontents were frequently "associated with the universities or the Inns of Court" (170), but barred from access to the inner circles of the royal court. Betts's chief argument is that these men saw the political stability of the realm and their own personal power base crumbling, and so adapted the monarchic blazon, designed to perform membership in the elite circle of powerful courtiers, to their purpose of satirizing the culture that demanded they seek such membership while it refused them admission. And so, in defense against the instability of their own social and political positions under this queen whom they were expected to court and adore, these frustrated aspirants wrote texts making women into sexual and moral monsters.[159]

To understand the implications of this phenomenon that Betts chronicles, however, we need to recall that, even "in its traditional panegyric mode," the blazon served much the same function as that which Betts describes: it performed membership in an "elite circle" of men by staging an attack on women. Parker points out that the "itemizing impulse of the blazon … would seem to be part of the motif of taking control of a woman's body by making it, precisely, ... a passive commodity in a homosocial discourse or male exchange in which the woman herself, traditionally absent, does not speak" (131). This "homosocial discourse" of "exchange" and possession is essentially competitive: as is widely recognized, competition between men was central to early modern merchandising, exploration, sexual conquest, and artistic assertion alike. This does not change when the woman in question is a queen, as Sawday observes:

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[159] This phenomenon may be read as a specific example of the principle set out by Stallybrass, who argues that "Like the members of the male elite, the class aspirant has an interest in preserving social closure, since without it there would be nothing to aspire *to*. But, as [*sic*] the same time, that closure must be sufficiently flexible to incorporate *him*. His conceptualization of woman will as a result be radically unstable: she will be perceived as oscillating between the enclosed body (the purity of the elite to which he aspires) and the open body (or else how could he attain her?), between being 'too coy' and 'too common.' … This unstable conceptualization of the woman corresponds to the instability of the class aspirant's own position" (134). Because the enclosed body both is and represents property, it becomes "a target of the displaced resentment of the subordinated classes" (142). Excluding these aspirants from power made Elizabeth a target for resentment; therefore, ironically, the more these young men of the 1590s saw Elizabeth's body and her court as enclosed, the more they attacked the former as being open.

> Elizabeth I, the 'virgin queen', was the ideal subject for the poetic blazon, a vehicle for the demonstration of a male wit which encircled the queen's body in a fetishistic adoration of her power, her virtue, her attraction, and (of course) her sexual allure, made all the more potent through her unavailability. The queen provided the perfect vehicle for initiating a complex linguistic interchange, uniting partition and division with the emerging, and determinedly expansionist language of colonization. (*Body* 197)

Although Elizabeth could be and and was held responsible for frustrated ambitions, it would be naïve for us to forget the number of powerful men surrounding her, and the absolute necessity for anyone hopeful of promotion or position to impress those men who served as the queen's eyes, ears, and hands. Indeed, the woman who served as the occasion and whose body served as the "battlefield" of "male rivalry" (Vickers, "Blazon" 96) was seldom if ever the primary audience of those competing wits.[160]

Just such a demonstration of male wit, and one featuring the deft handling of the blazon's conventions, was the sonnet sequence. "More than twenty sonnet sequences were published in England in the short period from 1591, when the first unauthorized edition of *Astrophil and Stella* … appeared, to 1597 when Robert Tofte's *Laura* was issued" (Svennson 11).[161] The genre's popularity cannot be distinguished from its competitive nature: it is not only the poetic conventions of the blazon that the English poets imitated from the French,[162] but also its usefulness to "male competitors within" an "intensely competitive culture [who] strove to outdo one another, using images of the fragmented body as their currency" (Sawday, *Body* 194).[163] As such currency, the courtly blazon's "sexualized language could be … adapted in terms that …

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[160] A case in point is George Puttenham's influential *Arte of English Poesie* (1589). Although Puttenham addresses the queen repeatedly throughout, the work is dedicated to Burghley.

[161] Philip Sidney's brother, Robert Sidney, also wrote an unpublished sonnet sequence, and Robert's daughter, Lady Mary Wroth, published a separately paginated sonnet sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, with the first part of her romance, *The Countesse of Montgomeries Urania* (1621).

[162] See Lars-Håkan Svennson for a detailed discussion of the various sources of Petrarchan models for English poets, for whom Petrarch's "themes and conceits were often filtered through sixteenth-century Italian and French sonneteering" (11).

[163] "By 1580, it has been calculated that over 250 French *blasons* had been produced or were circulating" (Sawday, *Body* 191).

offered opportunities for masculine self-invention" (Betts 154). Yet we must recall that the blazoner's self-representation as master of that which he views and master likewise of the art of skillfully displaying his possession to others is disallowed—or at least indefinitely deferred—by the continual and inconclusive thrust and parry of wit. Although one can imagine the moment of triumph in which the blazoned mistress gives herself to her lover, utterly persuaded by his rhetoric, one cannot imagine the moment of triumph in which the blazoning lover conclusively defeats all competitors in the artistic lists. Simultaneously defence and weapon, response and provocation, an early modern blazon, counter-blazon, or anti-blazon entered its author into an unending contest from which he could not hope to emerge unequivocally victorious.

However, the very prospect of success creates anxiety: in early modern depictions of the Pygmalion myth, including those by Arthur Golding and John Marston, this hero who proves his immunity to the Medusa by working upon stone instead of becoming it is nonetheless metamorphosed by the ideal woman of his creation, turned from a firm misogynist into a trembling lover. Generating anxiety through the same means by which he seeks to alleviate it, then, as Everard Guilpin and Daniel's work both illustrate, the English Pygmalion of the 1590s copes with an unbearable degree of uncertainty and flux by projecting what he fears in himself and his environment onto the body of a woman, over which he then strives to demonstrate mastery. This is a mastery not only of her body but of her will: just as the models in anatomical illustrations of the sixteenth century, both male and female, tend to be represented as willing participants in their dissection,[164] so too were living women of that time increasingly expected to deny their own and their viewers' mortality by imitating the marble undead. The growing pressure on women to fulfill this impossible role is a trend that *Antonius* warningly anticipates, that *Delia* serves and celebrates, and that *Mariam* acknowledges but critically interrogates.

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[164] See Sawday's discussion of this point in the chapter "Sacred Anatomy," in *The Body Emblazoned.*

## 1. "And know a perfect from a painted face": The labours of Pygmalion

> Now in the while by wondrous art an image he did graue
> Of such proportion, shape, and grace, as nature never gaue ....
> - Arthur Golding, *Metamorphosis* (X. 265-66)

Of the group of satirical texts produced by various ambitious outsiders that were ordered withdrawn by the Bishops' order of June 4, 1599, the figure of Pygmalion is fairly prominent in two of them: John Marston's *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalions Image and Certain Satyres*, most obviously, and Everard Guilpin's collection of satirical poetry *Skialetheia* as well, which features the lengthy "Satyra Secunda" quoted in the epigraph to this part of the chapter (138). Both works demonstrate just how attractive to the authors and readers of these texts was the fantasy of authoritative control that Pygmalion personified, a control not only over woman but over the "mortalitie" that unmans us all. Marston, for instance, announces that Pygmalion

> … wrought in purest Iuorie,
> So faire an Image of a Womans feature,
> That never yet proudest mortalitie
> Could show so rare and beautious a creature. (St. 2, 1-4)

Yet both works convey fear as well as desire at the prospect of imitating the mythological artist. Pygmalion was not by any means considered by these early modern writers to be immune to the destructive lure of the female principle. Marston compares Pygmalion in love to a "subtile Citty-dame" (st. 10, 1) and "the peeuish Papists" (st. 14, 1); both similes suggest that love has effected in him a degrading transformation. Indeed, the "threat of dissolution or dismemberment" of which Vickers writes continues to haunt this poetry, and it is a threat that is linked to woman's power.

Nevertheless, constructing the ideal woman as Galatea rather than as Diana does allow the artist to assume the position of authoritative viewer of a female figure defined by her immobility. Diana, one of the names by which Queen Elizabeth was frequently celebrated, personifies change and movement in her association with the moon, and active physicality in her association with the hunt. Galatea on her pedestal is a much more modern object of worship—or of lust, as in Marston's version. Diana transforms Actaeon and Endimion; Galatea is formed by Pygmalion, and as such is intended to be the reflection not of his humble humanity but of his surpassing skill. Betts offers a succinct comparison of Marston's satyric epillion with John Lyly's play, *Endimion* (1591), of just a few years earlier:

> [Lyly's] Endimion learns to regulate his desire for the goddess Cynthia, transforming sexual attraction into a reverence with the appropriate degree of distance. In contrast, Marston's poem flamboyantly disrupts the careful boundaries imposed upon Petrarchism as a modus vivendi. Like Endimion, Pygmalion rejects earthly women in pursuit of a feminine ideal. Unlike Endimion, Pygmalion's inappropriate lust is given a concrete sexual reward. Lyly portrays a Petrarchan mistress who is revered and whose body connotes abstract metaphysical qualities. Marston invents a Petrarchan inflatable doll, to be viewed and fornicated with at the caprice of her poet-inventor. (172)

Marston's Galatea comes to life when Pygmalion, tired of kisses and embraces, lays her "down within a Downe-bed" (st.22, 2), "strips him naked quite" (st. 25, 5), and "bowes him for to lay him downe," so that "each part, with her faire parts doe meet" (st. 27, 2-3). Venus having been briefly invoked and then forgotten, the transformative force here is clearly that of Pygmalion's own assertive sexuality:

> For when his hands her faire form'd limbs had felt,
> And that his armes her naked wast imbraced,
> Each part like Waxe before the sunne did melt,
> And now, oh now, he finds how he is graced
> 　By his owne worke. Tut, women will relent
> 　When as they finde such mouing blandishment. (st. 29)

Galatea's melting softness proves Pygmalion's own sunlike stability. In yielding, she reassures him that "he is graced" with power over woman, and, by implication, with superiority. Furthermore, this is a power that Marston offers to his readers; other men are gently chastised ("Tut") for failing to press their suits, as the "Ladies" have a few stanzas earlier been admonished to "thinke that they nere loue / Who doe not vnto more then kissing moue you" (st. 20, 6). Certainly, as Betts points out, Marston offers his text itself as a source of sexual satisfaction, for he invites "any [male] reader seeking titillation ... to put himself in Pygmalion's position and use his imagination (st. 33-36)" (172). But the poem explicitly advises the male reader to imitate Pygmalion in action as well: according to Marston, a man who wants his mistress to yield to him should abandon blandishments and head straight to "amorous embracements" (st. 16, 3). Either way, the male reader is encouraged to put himself in the position of total control over a female body. The female reader is invited to put herself in the position of Galatea: the ideal woman who does not look, speak, or move. She only yields.

This emphasis on Pygmalion's physical power (and an accordingly decreased emphasis on Venus's supernatural power) is a significant departure from Golding's popular 1567 translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which in most other respects Marston's poem follows quite closely. Another innovation, however, is Marston's explicit association of the process of blazoning with the construction and subsequent possession of his "inflatable doll." Marston describes Pygmalion's reaction to his "fayre Image" in classic Petrarchan style:

> Her Amber-coloured, her shining haire,
> Makes him protest, the Sunne hath spread her head
> With golden beames, to make her farre more faire.
> But when her cheeks his amorous thoughts haue fed,
>   Then he exclaimes, such redde and so pure white,
>   Did neuer blesse the eye of mortall sight. (st. 6)

However, he has prefaced this description with the reiterated assertion that Pygmalion's statue is naked (see stanza 4, lines 5-6). So this blazon is a mere preamble: it initiates a top-down inventory that proceeds to "her lips" (st. 7, 1), "her dimpled chin" (st. 7, 4), "Her breasts" (st. 8, 1), and ends as her nakedness requires with "Loues pauillion" (st. 9, 2). This inventory is recalled later in the poem, when Pygmalion is trying to have sex with his statue:

> His eyes, her eyes, kindly encountered,
> His breast, her breast, oft ioyned close vnto,
> His armes embracements oft she suffered,
> Hands, armes, eyes, tongue, lips, and all parts did woo.
>   His thigh, with hers, his knee playd with her knee,
>   A happy confort when all parts agree. (st. 17)

The purpose of noting all a woman's parts with one's eyes, then, according to Marston in this poem, is to provide a checklist for later: just as Galatea's hair and eyes lead Pygmalion's attention to her breasts and vulva, so his eyes' attention leads inevitably to those "embracements … she suffer[s]" from his "breast," "armes," "thigh," "knee," and, no doubt, "all [other] parts" that there adjacent lie. The blazon here is a response to beauty that leads a man's imagination distinctly downward, both literally and metaphorically: Marston is challenging the entire concept of neoplatonic love so painstakingly endorsed by Petrarch in the *Trionfi*. Galatea's perfect beauty does not raise her lover's thoughts to higher things. In fact, what Marston provides is exactly the "Gothic top-to-toe enumeration" that Vickers finds conspicuously *absent* from Petrarch's *Rime Sparse*.

Even in his new incarnation as an anatomist, then, this Pygmalion is vulnerable. Marston's very title—*The Metamorphosis of Pygmalions Image*—acknowledges by its ambiguity the possibility that his potent hero is subjected to a transformative experience, just as Golding's hero is. This Pygmalion has learned from woman's bad example to be an exemplary misogynist. But then he is transformed into a lover by the work of his own hands, the deceptive qualities of which Golding stresses as highly as he stresses Pygmalion's skill:

> Whom forbicause Pygmalion saw to leade their life in sin,
> Offended with the vice, whereof great store is packt within
> The nature of the womankind, he led a single life.
> And long it was yer he could find in hart to take a wife.
> Now in the while by wondrous art an image he did graue
> Of such proportion, shape, and grace, as nature never gaue,
> Nor can to anie woman give. In this his worke he tooke
> A certaine loue. The looke of it was right a maidens looke,
> And such a one, as that ye would believe had life, and that
> Would moued bee .... (X.261-70)

Pygmalion's "wondrous art" earns his "certaine loue" by outdoing nature. Yet although—or because—his statue is "Of such proportion, shape, and grace, as nature never gaue," it has great power to deceive those who look on it, in this case to make them believe they see a living, moving "maiden." Upon Venus's transformation of his ivory statue into a woman, Pygmalion's own body is powerfully affected.[165] According to Golding, "He amazd stood wauering to and fro, / Tweene ioie and feare to be beguild, againe he burnt in loue, / Againe with feeling he began his wished hope to proue" (X.312-14). He cannot look upon a beautiful woman with desire without fearing himself "beguild," and without his body, as his mind, weakened from its former state. He no longer stands firm, in either his misogyny or his artistic superiority: now he stands "wauering to and fro."

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[165] The statue is unnamed in both Golding's and Marston's versions.

On this construction, the skill belongs to the male viewer, whereas the deception belongs to the painted woman by whom he may "be beguild." Such deception is the chief concern of Guilpin's "Satyra Secunda," a narrative featuring no statues and no metamorphosis. Nevertheless, at the poem's centre is the crucial question, "Then how is man turnd all *Pygmalion*"? And driving that question, I would suggest, is the very absence of statues, for the troublesome tendency of women's bodies not to stay as and where one left them is a central preoccupation of this satiric anti-blazon. For the male artist at the turn of the seventeenth century, as Guilpin's satire illustrates, the need to deny any sort of instability or flux produces tremendous anxiety and hostility—produces, in fact, a Pygmalion, who copes by projecting what he fears in himself onto the woman viewed and who lives in terror of his own success. Guilpin's narrator is Pygmalion, post-miracle: not the powerful artist but the wavering weakling. While he watches, the women start to move.

Mobility, sign of all the ways in which women's bodies are beyond man's understanding or control, is one major source of the hostility underlying "Satyra Secunda." The narrative persona in this satire positions himself as interpreting witness to the arrival, passage, and departure of a bevy of painted ladies (*i.e.* whores), whose deceits he enumerates, and whose decrepitude he insists upon. In language that recalls Petrarchan convention only to reject it, the speaker invites his addressees (naive younger men of his own class) to "take a view of blazing starres," while insisting that it is he who does the "blazing" (*i.e.* blazoning) now:

> Here comes a Coach (my lads) let's make a stand,
> And take a view of blazing starres at hand:
> Who's here? who's here? now trust me passing faire,
> Thai're most sweet Ladies: mary and so they are.
> Why thou young puisne art thou yet to learne,
> A harper from a shilling to discerne?
> I had thought the last mask which thou caperedst in

> Had catechiz'd thee from this errors sinne,
> Taught thee S. *Martins* stuffe from true gold lace,
> And know a perfect from a painted face:
> Why they are Idols, Puppets, Exchange babies,
> And yet (thou foole) tak'st them for goodly Ladies[.] (1-12)

The speaker's stated goal is to teach his companions to distinguish false from real "Ladies"; the ostensible objects of Guilpin's satire are both painted women and inexpert male critics of these women's deceptive art. Thus, achieving this particular didactic goal also serves the narrative persona's larger goal of distinguishing himself from his fellows as the only clear-sighted one among them.

More than anything, this man needs to be in charge. Consequently, he occupies the street as if it were an anatomy theatre or theatre of war. It is the arena in which he seeks the interpretive victory over his fellows whose "trust" he demands, seeks to prove that victory on the bodies of the women upon whom he tests his powers. However, if the purpose of Guilpin's narrator is to prove his ability to "know a perfect from a painted face," the evidence he cites does not support his claim, for the example he offers of "goodly Ladies" is that of women dancing in a "mask," *i.e.*, taking part in a masque, and quite possibly wearing one as well. This is hardly the image of unadorned simplicity that the argument leads us to expect; instead of underscoring the folly of those who cannot tell the difference between the two kinds of women, it suggests that real folly lies in believing there to be any difference between the whore and the lady masquer. It is surely impossible to "know a perfect from a painted face" when the former is hidden behind an elaborate disguise.

To be sure, Guilpin's conflation of "goodly Ladies" with "exchange babies," reinforced by the slant rhyme, is quite possibly intentional. Most of *Skialetheia* is devoted to satirizing aristocratic men and women for their various deceits, hypocrisies, and immoralities, and it may well have been Guilpin's purpose here covertly to satirize the courtly lady masquers for their similarity to the "blazing starres at hand," as well as to satirize the courtly men (his narrative persona's imagined audience) who dance attendance on either class of women.[166] Furthermore, although the speaker does suggest that the purpose of paint is to make the users' bodies "saleable" (20), the main target of this satire appears to be all women's hideous mortality, not some particular woman's immorality: the critique of painted women consists largely of an inventory of the means by which ageing women disguise their "most antient" beauties (25). However, another effect of this conflation of opposites is that the narrator fails in his object of distinguishing himself from his fellows. He cannot "know a perfect from a painted face" any better than the next man (10). No wonder, then, that he resorts to labeling the women before him as "Idols, Puppets, Exchange babies" instead of anatomizing their features (11), for he does not continue as he begins, to teach his audience "A harper from a shilling to discerne" (6). Instead, he concludes that every "wench" is "but a quirke, quidlit case, / Which makes a Painters pallat of her face" (43-44)

This failure to distinguish himself from his fellows as an expert reader of women is just one of the reasons the poem suggests for the narrator's collapse of the expert "I" and inexpert "thee" of lines seven and eight into a collectively defeated "we" mid-way through the poem:

> Then how is man turnd all *Pygmalion,*
> That knowing these pictures, yet we doate vpon
> The painted statues, or what fooles are we
> So grosly to commit idolatry? (49-52)

The narrator has shown no signs of doting to this point. So why include himself among the idolatrous others? I would suggest that his membership on their defeated team stems from the very fact that he has been looking closely (albeit critically) at the women, and he has also been painting their "pictures" with his words—even though he has, ironically, been blazoning their deceits. According to Sawday, "the image of the Medusa" is the archetypal expression of body-fear," and he makes a strong case for his argument that "The Medusa stands for fear of interiority;

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[166] This is the reading Betts gives the poem, summarizing it as follows: "Guilpin argues that the metropolitan women who exhibit themselves in a similar fashion [to city prostitutes] ultimately expose the corruptions of Elizabethan manhood" (171).

more often than not, a specifically male fear of the female interior" (9).[167] But if the anatomist fears Perseus's fate, he also fears Pygmalion's: being turned, not into stone, but into embarrassingly vulnerable flesh by his attentive study of women's parts. Thus the narrator's is a self-defeating project that leads only to increased loathing of both the women contemplated and the contemplating self. In his very effort to condemn all Pygmalions and their Galateas, he has "turnd all *Pygmalion*."

The narrator's vulnerability to the women he studies is also evident in that, despite his confident offer at the poem's outset to "make a stand, / And take a view of blazing starres at hand," his ability to do so is entirely dependent on the cooperation of the women (1-2). There is one important way in which Guilpin's narrator clings to his illusion of authority in the four lines quoted above: his insistence on using such terms as "pictures" and "painted statues" to describe the women passing through his field of vision. Given the fleeting nature of the scene, such language seems jarringly inappropriate. The first thing we learn about these women is that they have a coach; the last thing we learn about them is that they have moved beyond view. "Me thinks the painted Pageant's out of sight," ends the poem; "It's time to end my lecture then; good night" (99-100). Like their courtly counterparts at the masque, Guilpin's targets are in constant motion, and unlike the masquers they have each other, not men, as escorts. Even the term "painted Pageant," with which the self-appointed expert ends his "lecture," is tellingly ambiguous, for it suggests a painting or tapestry, motion frozen for the continuing convenience of the one who would inspect the scene. These recurring metaphors, striking in their very inappropriateness, foreground how dependent on the women's presence is the narrator's power to perform his interpretive or artistic expertise, to play either the anatomist or the doting artist. Because these women are uncooperative, because the bodies on which he would prove his mastery disappear before his and his audience's eyes, his attempt to anatomize the painted "Idols" before him fails. This, I would argue, is the real cause of his defeat, the real reason he cannot distinguish between masquers and whores, both alike "passing" fairs. He simply cannot be the expert witness of a scene, or a body, that will not stay still. This too is why Guilpin's narrator conflates the crime of painting with the crime of mobility, with the result that the longer he blazes his interpretive brilliance, the more difficult it becomes to distinguish the categories of painted and perfect woman, of objective expert and "doting fool." Eventually, boundaries collapse and, defeated by the women and by his own unrealizable ambition, the expert dismisses his audience.

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[167] His identification of blood, sign of the body-interior, with the horrifying feminine principle that Cixous has famously referred to as "the uncanny stranger on display" (261-62), persuasively accounts at least in part for the otherwise surprising phenomenon of early modern culture he observes, namely that the body-interior and its fluids are typically figured as female whatever the gender of the corpse.

And so the expert eye in Pygmalion's position at this point in history sees each beautiful woman as a beguiling idol tempting him to waver in his principles as in his flesh, and worship her. "In the myth of Perseus and Medusa," says Sawday, "the male protagonist confronts his female opponent and renders her powerless through a dispersal of her body parts" (9). In Golding's tale, however, the male protagonist *constructs* his female opponent, who then renders *him* powerless through her effect on his body parts. Indeed, in Marston's and Guilpin's variations the internal creation (of lust) is indistinguishable from the external creation (of a beautiful woman). The power of woman's too-permeable interior to turn a living man to stone is not more frightening than the power of a beautiful woman's too-impermeable exterior to turn a firm man to weak and "wavering" flesh.

## 2. "A Prince a Page": Threatening miracles

**E** *urope*, the Earthes sweete Paradise:
**L** et all thy Kings that would be wise,
**I** n *Politique Deuotion*:
**S** aile hither to obserue her eyes,
**A** nd marke her heauenly motion.

**B** raue Princes of this ciuill age,
**E** nter into this pilgrimage:
**T** his Saints tongue is an oracle,
**H** er eye hath made a Prince a Page,
**A** nd workes each day a miracle.
- Sir John Davies, "Hymne VIII. *To all the Princes of Europe*," l. 1-10

The power of a woman's image, or a painted woman, to transform the man who idolizes it (or her) into Pygmalion, *i.e.* both powerful creator and doting fool, is very much the subject of Antony's opening monologue in *Antonius*, in which Antony's anxiety over his present unstable state expresses itself as horror at the thought of such a perfect "Idoll" as Cleopatra having agency. Pembroke's translation portrays a man who relies on the discourse of the blazon to reassert his fragile stability at Cleopatra's expense, while exposing the ways in which this very discourse contributes to his instability and anxiety. *Antonius* begins with Antony's inventory of complaints, a list which culminates in the assertion, "And … my Queene her self, in whome I liv'd, / The Idoll of my hart, doth me pursue" (1.1, l. 6-7). This claim is strikingly irrational in its reversal of the very event Antony is lamenting: *his* pursuit of Cleopatra after she fled the battle at Actium. The rest of the monologue then exposes the assumptions and fears that have led him to such a conclusion, and that form an important part of the context for Cleopatra's subsequent insistence on attacking her own physical appearance. For we find that Antony cannot bear to acknowledge himself *moved* (emotionally or physically) by the thought of Cleopatra, and so projects his own movement onto her, thus transforming the "Idoll" of his "hart" into something supernaturally and monstrously mobile.

In returning at a later point in the same monologue to the series of events that haunt his memory, Antony describes himself, to himself, as an errant Pygmalion returning to his Galatea from Actium "In haste to runne, about her necke to hang / Languishing in her armes thy Idoll made: / In summe given up to *Cleopatras* eies" (1.1, l. 77-79). His desire for Cleopatra is thus conflated with his desire to see her an "Idoll made." His beloved, constructed as an "Idoll," is then dangerous to the extent to which her "armes" and "eies" have power to move:

> For of thy Queene the lookes, the grace, the woords,
> Sweetenes, alurements, amorous delights,
> Entred againe thy soule, and day and night,
> In watch, in sleepe, her Image follow'd thee. (1.1, l. 102-05)

Cleopatra's remembered movement of facial features in looking and speaking gives Antony the opportunity to shift agency from the fleeing man to the unfixed Idoll. Evidently, her "lookes" and "woords" have done such things to him that he cannot keep his thoughts above her neck. But in Antony's telling, it is not his attention that wandered (from "lookes" to "amorous delights"): it is Cleopatra's "Image" that moved. And so he represents obsession as intrusion. Emotionally and, yes, physically moved, Antony must project this motion onto the Idoll who provoked it. He does not fear being torn apart like Actaeon, exactly; rather, he fears being invaded, fears recognizing his own body as effeminately permeable, mutable, accommodating.

A few lines later Antony revisits with increased horror the idea of his soul's being penetrated by a woman's image, when he rebukes himself for having abandoned battle to gain "Sight of that face whose guilefull semblant doth / (Wandring in thee) infect thy tainted hart" (1.1, l. 112-13). The parentheses Pembroke places around the phrase "(Wandring in thee)" draw attention to it, announcing that which Antony is struggling to suppress: his awareness of his own hysteria. (There are no parentheses in Garnier's corresponding text.) The parenthetical phrase also draws attention to the attempted act of suppression itself, and hence to Antony's fear of instability.[168] Since he feels that he is no longer identical with himself, he concludes that he must have been invaded by Cleopatra whose image has so horribly "tainted [his] heart." Hysterical, he feels that something in him has gotten loose, but it cannot be the womb, because that would make him a woman. Instead, he must be a man, who has been supernaturally pursued and invaded. If the thought of Cleopatra moves him, then, it must be she who moved first to move him from his steadfastness—it must be her fault, her motion. Following this line of reasoning, Antony moves from describing himself as the one who ran (1.1, l. 77) to describing Cleopatra as the image that follows (1.1, l. 105). From this construction of her as a woman in predatory motion to the conclusion that she has betrayed him for Caesar is just another small step in the same twisted logic. Antony's hysteria proves Cleopatra to be a wanderer, that is, an unsteadfast stray, and so, by this logic, he is able to come to the otherwise astonishing conclusion, "Justly complaine I she disloyall is, / Nor constant is, even as I constant am" (1.1.142-43). Antony justifies his self-representation as one who makes an admirable stand by pointing to the fact of the woman's movement, so open to condemnation. And again, it is a strategy that backfires.

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[168] Compare Antony's anticipation of the time "when that Death, my glad refuge, shall have / Bounded the course of my unstedfast life" (44-45).

Antony's ambiguous syntax frequently undermines his argument even as he is most determined to absolve himself and place the blame on Cleopatra. When Antony describes returning to his "Idoll made" (1.1.78), his assertion raises the question, "Made by whom?"[169] Is it not he himself who has made of Cleopatra that object of horror, the idol who pursues? And if it is not her "face" itself, but its "guilefull semblant" that infects his heart (1.1.112), then by whose guile was that toxic "semblant" assembled? In his denial of responsibility Antony resembles Guilpin's narrator, according to whom man does not paint "these pictures"—he simply knows them. Consider the aphorism with which the defeated general concludes his opening monologue:

> *But ah! by nature women wav'ring are,*
> *Each moment changing and rechanging mindes.*
> *Unwise, who blinde in them, thinkes loyaltie*
> *Ever to find in beauties company.* (1.1.146-49, original italics)

To Antony, who has not yet seen Cleopatra's tear-ravaged post-Actium face, her beauty is simply a given; his assertion of it has remained unqualified throughout the lengthy and often contradictory complaint that is his act 1 monologue. In his view, furthermore, beauty requires no interpretation. And it is this very perfection of her appearance that Antony takes as evidence of Cleopatra's "wav'ring" nature. He knows what he sees, and he knows he cannot trust it. Also, he knows that he feels, and he knows she must have caused it. It is the woman who, by exerting the force of her beauty, *turns* a real man into Pygmalion, turns him into a lover, turns him in any way from himself.

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[169] Pembroke's syntax is much more ambiguous than Garnier's "Languir entre ses bras, t'en faire l'idolatre" (77), in which Antony explicitly accuses himself of making an idolater of himself. Pembroke's Antony is more overtly accusatory of Cleopatra (in naming her an "Idoll" instead of naming himself an "idolatre"), but at the same time suggests an unacknowledged responsibility.

Movement is definitely something about herself that Pembroke's Cleopatra cherishes, in contrast to Antony's loathing of it in her: she explicitly says she fears "loosing my liberty" (2.2.412), for instance.[170] For women as for men Cleopatra constructs both mobility and changeability as virtuous. She is aware of being the object of Antony's gaze,[171] but she herself does not discuss her own viewing of Antony, nor does she ever refer to him as either Idol or image.[172] And she most emphatically does not accept being constructed as one by him or anyone else. In fact, part of what redeems her approaching death for this Cleopatra is that she can finally escape, not from the body *per se*, but from the construction of her body as "Image": "And now," she proclaims, "of me an Image great shall goe / Under the earth to bury there my woe" (5.1.1981-82). Here Pembroke makes some important changes to the sense of Garnier's original, "Or maintenant ira mon grand image faux / Dessous la terre ombreuse ensevelir mes maux" (1958-59). Most significantly, she eliminates all reference to falsehood, and in translating "grand" as "great" she changes the emphasis from size to significance. Consequently, whereas Garnier's "mon grand image faux" can only be taken to refer to something made to represent the queen—*i.e.* Cleopatra's sarcophagus with her image carved on the lid—Pembroke's more ambiguous phrase, "of me an Image great," can just as easily be taken to refer to her own body or even to Antony's. What Pembroke retains and enhances in her translation is Cleopatra's rejection of celebrating her greatness with a realistic representation *above* ground. In this way Pembroke critiques the impulse to monumentalize women, an impulse that "arises in part," as Abbe Blum puts it, "from a desire to posess what lies beyond possession—to render certain and permanent what is unknowable, unavailable, lost" (99). Furthermore, Pembroke also here challenges the possibility of recognizing what constitutes a woman's "image."

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[170] Whereas Antony uses "folow" as a synonym for "pursue," moreover, reading her mobility as malevolent, Cleopatra distinguishes clearly between the two verbs. She exclaims, "Dead and alive, *Antonie*, thou shalt see / Thy princesse follow thee, folow, and lament" (2.2, l. 551-52). But she rejects Charmion's accusation that she is "Inhumane" if she her "owne death pursues," with the retort, "Not inhumaine who miseries eschues" (2.2, l. 561-62).

[171] In addition to the passage quoted in the previous footnote (2.2.551-52), she describes Antony's flight from Actium as happening because "he *saw* … my Gallies making saile" (2.1.444-45, emphasis added).

[172] In one of very few direct references to his "eies," she calls them "two Sunnes, the lodging place of love" (5, l. 1963).

Much of Cleopatra's performative brilliance, as Pembroke portrays her, lies in her awareness of the paradigm shift being imposed on her and her world, and in her strategies for resisting it. In "Hymne VIII," quoted in the epigraph to this section, Davies imagines the male rulers of Europe travelling towards his queen in order to be willingly transformed (*i.e.* deformed, diminished) by her from "Prince" to "Page." In the new world order, such "Deuotion" is decidedly not "Politique," nor such "a miracle" welcome. Antony's recent fateful journey towards Cleopatra was not a "pilgrimage" but a shameful flight from battle. Caesar now approaches, not as a pilgrim but as a conqueror. Pembroke's Cleopatra, who for years enjoyed a court (including ambassadors, servants, and lovers) that regularly affirmed her right to move and speak freely, now must confront an Antony who has lost all patience and all faith, and a Caesar who has abandoned all respect and all mercy. Neither man can bear the thought of her autonomy.

The marked exception to this rule is Diomede, who strongly desires his queen to continue her long history of performing the speaking, moving, powerful female beauty. With a kind of desperate nostalgia, containing no trace of the shame or disgust suggested by Cleopatra's description of her corrupt, "lascivious" court in Daniel's version of events, as I discuss below, Pembroke's Diomede recalls:

> Her grace, hir Majestie, and forcing voice,
> Whither she it with fingers speech consorte,
> Or hearing sceptred kings embassadors
> Answer to eache in his owne language make. (729-32)

Based on this precedent, Diomede agrees with Charmion that Cleopatra can "this royall diademe / Regaine of *Caesar*" (539-40). Therefore, in direct response to Cleopatra's command that he go paint in Antony's mind the pictures of her "in sea of sorowes drown'd" (677) and then as a "corpse" (688), the secretary pleads that she instead labour to refresh her good looks and supplement them with wit; he believes that, in order to successfully seduce Caesar, Cleopatra must use her tongue as well as her facial features, her "swete voice" as well as her "eies" (706-07). According to Diomede, who continues to regard Cleopatra as a woman of parts, the only hope for Egypt lies in her willingness to perform such a role for Caesar.

And Diomede is desperate to see her do so, because the face with which Antony and Caesar are both in their own ways obsessed is not the face Cleopatra insists on showing those around her. Instead, the Cleopatra who enters in act 2 is busy spoiling her beauty, as we learn from Eras, who wonders in protest why Cleopatra must "Straine your weake breast so oft, so vehemently? / Water with teares this faire alablaster? / With sorrowes sting so many beauties wound?" ( l. 427-29). Eras caps her protest with the assertion that "All things do yeelde to force of lovely face" (436), to which Cleopatra replies, "My face too lovely caus'd my wretched case. / My face hath so entrap'd, so cast us downe, / That for his conquest *Caesar* may it thanke" (437-39). But the argument continues, with all three of Cleopatra's companions urging the weeping, dishevelled queen to clean and close up her exposed and permeable surfaces, to make herself pretty as a picture to present to Caesar, to make the man who reads her body feel good about himself by feeling good about what he knows (and therefore possesses) with his eyes. The dialogue of the second act concludes with Diomede's lengthy protest, much of which is given over to a detailed blazon in which Diomede specifies the features of his ideal woman, who is also in his view woman at her most powerful: a piece of "worke" that is beautiful exactly because it appears to improve on nature:

> Nought lives so faire. Nature by such a worke
> Her selfe, should seme, in workmanship hath past.
> She is all heav'nlie: never any man
> But seeing hir was ravish'd with her sight.
> The Allablaster covering of hir face,
> The corall coullor hir two lipps engraines,
> Her beamie eies, two Sunnes of this our world,
> Of hir faire haire the fine and flaming golde,
> Her brave streight stature, and her winning partes
> Are nothing else but fiers, fetters, dartes.
> Yet this is nothing th'e'nchaunting skilles
> Of her caelestiall Sp'rite, hir training speache,
> Her grace, hir Majestie, and forcing voice,

> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Yet now at nede she aides hir not at all
> With all these beauties, so hir sorowe stings.
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Hir charming eies whence murthring looks did flie,
> Now rivers grown', whose wellspring anguish is,
> Do trickling wash the marble of hir face.
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Alas! it's our ill happ, for if hir teares
> She would convert into hir loving charmes,
> To make a conquest of the conqueror,
> (As well shee might, would she hir force imploie)
> She should us saftie from these ills procure .... (717-29, 733-34, 738-40, 743-47)

Although Diomede respects Cleopatra's eloquence as well as her beauty, the Cleopatra whom he believes to be capable of making "a conquest of the conqueror" is in appearance more like a statue than a normal woman, boasting a body made of "Allablaster," "corall," and "marble."

However, the most important feature of this unnaturally beautiful woman, according to Diomede, is her "beamie eies," which as long as they continue to beam can also charm. This wide-awake Galatea can make of Caesar a doting Pygmalion by the aid of her beauty's force; it is he, not she, whom Diomede imagines being transformed if Cleopatra will only agree to perform the role assigned to her. Indeed, we may read the speech of Cleopatra's secretary here as the stage directions of a frustrated director. The beauty he remembers, and imagines seeing once again, is something that Diomede knows Cleopatra can choose whether or not to perform. And, as he stresses, essential to the successful performance of a woman who lives up to her blazon are her picture-perfect eyes. The biggest threat to Cleopatra's successful performance are her tears, which ruin the illusion and destroy the image's power. Unfortunately, Diomede laments, "Hir charming eies" are "Now rivers grown," rivers moreover that "wash the marble of hir face" and thereby contradict the marble's message with their incontrovertible proof that the face is really many-layered flesh. Because such rivers destroy the face's power to charm, Cleopatra's failure to keep her eyes brightly beaming, in Diomede's view, dooms them all.

Nevertheless, even as Diomede recommends the imitation of a statue as Cleopatra's best hope, his language betrays some of the problems that inhere in such a performance, and in so doing suggests some of the reasons why Cleopatra refuses to perform as he directs. This is a decision that cannot be ascribed to anti-theatricality.[173] Diomede constructs his ideal female beauty as dangerous to men when, for instance, he expresses a desire for Cleopatra's eyes to send out from that marble face "murthring looks." He hopes, furthermore, that by those looks Caesar may be "ravish'd," a term as suggestive of invasive violence as of desire. He also describes Cleopatra's speech as "training [entraining],"[174] her voice as "forcing"; hers is the power to overcome a man's will rather than convert it. Diomede himself is not the one to be "ravish'd," and stands to be murdered only if Cleopatra does *not* turn on her high beams, so he expresses no personal anxiety at the prospect of her doing so. Nevertheless, his definition of beauty cannot but betray the problem Cleopatra faces if she tries to follow his direction: the more successfully she plays a living Galatea, the more pleasingly she poses and smiles and also speaks, the more likely it is that her intended Pygmalion will perceive her as a treacherous and deadly Medusa. The opportunity for power confronts the woman who imitates Galatea, but Cleopatra knows that fear and hostility do as well. And when the latter are on the increase, the former recedes from reach.

Clearly, Diomede does not grasp the extent to which the changing times have become increasingly hostile to unfixed women. However, I would suggest that this blind spot is more a function of his particular social status than of his lack—or abundance—of insight, for as a servant Diomede can only benefit from his mistress's gains in power. He has little reason to feel personally threatened by the scene he conjures up for the stage of our imagination, in which Cleopatra performs articulate, independent beauty. For him, the possibility of full triumph is not at stake as it is for Caesar, who is determined therefore to

> … wholly gett
> Into our hands hir treasure and hir selfe.
> For this of all things most I do desire
> To kepe hir safe untill our going hence:
> That by hir presence beautified may be

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[173] See discussion of this point in Part A of my Introduction to this project.
[174] Pembroke's "training speech" translates Garnier's "mignardes blandices" (720), which does not have the same suggestion of force or constraint, or of spectacle.

The glorious triumph *Rome* prepares for me. (1723-28)

Caesar's plan depends on keeping "safe" Cleopatra's body, a plan that by crying and tearing her skin she is already defeating; the ambiguous past participle "beautified," a word that may be read as either adjective or verb, further emphasizes how necessary it is to Caesar for Cleopatra's physical presence to be "beautified" in order for it to properly adorn his "glorious triumph." Cleopatra understands this without being told. As Dircitus will later report to Caesar, she anticipates the conqueror's plan for her "captive to be made, / And that she should to *Rome* in triumph goe" (1645-46). For such a triumph to be complete, all the eyes of Rome must see her perfect body, the unspoiled spoils of war, the image of Caesar's impervious power. Ironically, this can only be possible if Cleopatra takes Diomede's advice and preserves her beautiful surface intact.

### 3. "Proper art": Pygmalion's self-fashioning

> Hee was amazed at the wondrous rarenesse
> Of his owne workmanships perfection.
> He thought that Nature neře produc'd such fairenes
> In which all beauties haue their mantion.
> And thus admiring, was enamored
> On that fayre Image himselfe portraied.
> - John Marston, *Pigmalions Image*, st. 3

It is not only in such satirical works as Marston's and Guilpin's that we find evidence of the trend that Pembroke anticipates in *Antonius*: that growing anatomical impulse, combined with a growing reluctance either to portray women as mobile or to acknowledge the speaker's own lack of fixity. What Pembroke anticipates, in fact, one of her own protegés exemplifies. Samuel Daniel's frequently revised sonnet sequence *Delia*, first published as a complete sequence in 1592, and repeatedly added to and revised between that year and 1601, shows the poet struggling with the imperative to honour the divine Delia (another name for Diana), the impulse to protest her destructive power over his Actaeon self, and the insistence on asserting his and his work's supernatural stability at her expense. This sequence is of particular relevance to my project, as twenty-eight of the poems in it were first published in the same unauthorized volume as Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* in 1591; the sequence itself was dedicated to Mary Pembroke, Daniel's long-time patron; and Daniel was certainly revising it while he was at Wilton writing his neo-Senecan *Cleopatra* (1594) at Pembroke's direction. *Delia* was also extremely popular, evidenced by its having gone through seven editions in ten years, and by its well-recognized influence on Daniel's contemporaries. Other writers known to have been familiar with Daniel's work of this period include Shakespeare and Michael Drayton; with the latter Elizabeth Cary had a direct connection.[175] Furthermore, *Cleopatra* was first published alongside *Delia*, and the two works appeared together in several subsequent editions.[176] *Cleopatra* went through eight editions between 1594 and 1611, and was substantially revised by Daniel several times.[177] Both were projects that largely occupied Daniel's attention, and would have had the attention of his patron and dedicatee Pembroke as well, during the years between her first publication of *Antonius* and her writing of "Astrea."

Despite *Delia*'s success, however, Daniel was struggling financially and artistically throughout the decade in which he wrote and carried out most of the revisions on *Delia* and *Cleopatra*. It is true that, as Cecil Seronsy points out, "By 1595 Daniel's reputation was well established .... Contemporary allusion frequently placed him alongside Sidney and Spenser" (58). Yet despite the approbation of his peers, in 1595 Daniel was, as Rees points out, himself uncertain of his place: his position, and thus in his mind his vocation, were in doubt for many years. As partial evidence, Rees points to Daniel's 1611 dedication to Fulke Greville of *Musophilus: Containing a Generall Defence of all Learning*, lines that suggest both the "Self-distrust and diffidence [that] were traits of Daniel's character" and also hint at "some crisis of dejection in the past from which he has now been rescued" (*Daniel* 66-67):

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[175] See discussion in Part B of Chapter One of this project.

[176] There was one publication of the tragedy by itself in 1611, and one with "Poeticall Essayes" (1599); it was published alongside *Delia* in every other edition thereafter ("Workes 1601, 1602; "Certaine Small Workes 1605, 1607, 169, 1611; Quarto 1623)

[177] Three main editions: 1594; 1599/1601/1605/1623; 1607/09/1611. 1605, 1607, 1609 omit the verse epistle-dedicatory; both 1611 editions restore it, and so does the 1623 quarto *Workes*.

> And for my part, I have beene oft constraind
> To reexamine this my course herein
> And question with my selfe what is containd
> Or what solidity there was therein.
> And then in casting it with that account
> And recknings of the world, I therein found
> Art came farre short, and neither did amount
> In valew with those hopes I did propound
> Nor answer'd the expences of my time
> Which made me much distrust my selfe & ryme[.]
>     And I was flying from my heart and from
> The station I was set in, to remaine:
> And had left all, had not fresh forces come
> And brought me backe vnto my selfe againe .... (17-30)

The story Daniel tells in this verse also tallies with biographical facts, for in 1594 he flew from his "station" at Wilton (and therefore from Pembroke's patronage, however indirectly). For all these reasons, then, *Delia* and *Cleopatra* can tell us much of what Pembroke and Cary saw of their male contemporaries' efforts to develop a literary form that would assert what Sawday refers to as the new, scopic regime, and of the relationship of this effort to that of resisting female agency.[178] Even in his dedications written to Pembroke himself, this resistance on Daniel's part is strongly evident.

We should not minimize the extent of Daniel's struggle against the power and influence of Pembroke, despite the fact that the relationship between the two was, as Hannay points out, one of the most enduring connections between the countess and any of her protégés: "Although he did seek patronage from Charles Blount and others, Daniel is the only one of Mary Sidney's protégés to return to her after the death of her husband and her consequent loss of position" (*Phoenix* 119). It is certainly significant that Daniel's loyalty to Pembroke extended beyond the period of her greatest influence. But equally significant is the biographical evidence of tension between them and divided allegiances on Daniel's side. Of the road traveled between early patronage and later appreciation Rees tells quite a different story from what Hannay's accurate but brief summary leads one to expect:

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[178] The self-fashioning evidenced in this dedication serves to introduce central themes in the work to follow (a debate on the value of learning and writing between the personae of Musophilus and Philocosmus), themes that were of interest to many writers of the period. Pembroke and Cary themselves, as we have seen, were keenly concerned with changing artistic trends and the implications these changes had for the "hopes" that each "did propound" for her own "selfe and ryme."

> This [1594] was a momentous, nearly a disastrous year, for in the course of it some great change took place in Daniel's fortunes which drove him away from Wilton and threatened to overwhelm him completely. … in 1595 Mountjoy's offer of shelter came just in time to save him from destitution. ... Possibly it was some rift with the old Earl which caused the trouble. Daniel may have expected some post in the Earl's gift which never came his way and grown tired of a dependency which perhaps bound him too strictly. … Certainly he was cast adrift and his situation was for a time serious. (*Daniel* 62, 63-4).

Daniel was saved through the interventions of men of his own generation: Fulke Greville appealed to Burghley for him, and Charles Blount, Lord "Mountjoy took him in. Through Mountjoy he met Essex and came to love him[,] and this attachment was to have a profound effect upon Daniel in the years that followed; but the immediate influences were those of Greville and Mountjoy[,] and they are reflected at once in his poetry" (Rees, *Daniel* 64). Too much emphasis on the specifics of Daniel's relationship with, and respect for, Pembroke as an individual thus may tempt us to neglect the sonnet sequence's very important response and contribution to the wider social and literary environment in which Daniel was writing and revising *Delia*. A case in point is the critical debate over whether Daniel's Delia should be read as referring to Pembroke. What is acknowledged neither by Hannay, who maintains that "the sonnets probably were dedicated to Mary Sidney as Delia …, whether or not they were originally inspired by the countess" (118),[179] nor by Rees, Lamb, nor Seronsy, all of whom argue that Delia cannot be identified with anyone, is that "Delia" is also a name commonly used for Queen Elizabeth.[180]

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[179] While acknowledging that "the identity of Delia cannot be conclusively known without additional evidence" (118), Hannay nonetheless asserts that "The countess herself is the most logical candidate for Delia, since the poems are dedicated to her" (*Phoenix* 116). Hannay makes an important contribution to the scholarly debate on the subject with the biographical information she provides, which calls into question some of Rees's arguments against identifying Pembroke as Delia. "Sonnet 48 (1592)," which "refers to '*Auon* rich in fame, though poore in waters … where *Delia* hath her seat,' leads Rees to suggest that Delia must be someone from Daniel's home near Bath because Wilton is not on the Avon. In fact," Hannay points out, "Wilton is not far from the Avon, which runs through Salisbury, but a more plausible reference is to Mary Sidney's seat at Ivychurch, a few miles southeast of Wilton on the Avon" (*Phoenix* 117).

Given, therefore, Daniel's artistic and social ambition, the paucity of the biographical information included in the sonnet sequence, and the fact that he began his sonnet sequence *before* gaining Pembroke's patronage and continued to significantly revise it *after* he had lost her patronage under apparently painful circumstances and had been rescued by Greville and Mountjoy, the logical conclusion seems to be that, in crafting the scrupulously ambiguous *Delia*, Daniel set out to have it (at least) two ways. His object was to demonstrate his mastery of a particular genre, central to which is the convention of praising a woman who can be taken to represent the queen; politically and poetically astute, he constructed the object of his admiring and distant desire as one who can be taken to represent Pembroke as well. In committing to neither, he flattered both and risked offending neither. In protesting devotion to *some* Delia, Daniel performed his command of artistic convention for his male readers, some of whom responded with support and patronage.[181]

There is, however, a fine line between convention and constraint. In my view, there is as much evidence in Daniel's work that he perceived the requirement to praise "Delia" and to do so in certain required terms as a constraint at the hands of a powerful woman as there is evidence of his gratitude for the support provided by one such woman—starting with his dedication. Daniel's revisions to *Delia*'s dedication suggest a highly ambivalent attitude towards either Pembroke herself or the poetics of humility she endorsed, or both.[182] For he replaced the lengthy prose dedication to the 1592 edition with a sonnet that I cannot but read as a defiant assertion of his artistic autonomy in despite of his obligation to honour his patron the countess. In the earlier prose dedication Daniel writes, "you doe not onely possesse the honour of the present, but also do bind posterity to an euer gratefull memorie of your vertues, wherein you must suruiue yourselfe. And if my lines heereafter better laboured, shall purchase grace in the world, they must remaine the monuments of your honourable fauour" (A2v). The dedicatory sonnet to the 1594 edition, by contrast, written in 1593 and thus shortly before Daniel lost his post at Wilton for reasons unknown, addresses Pembroke thus:

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[180] As Rees reminds us, "'Delia' was one of the names under which Artemis / Diana was known (her birth having taken place on Delos)" (*Daniel* 68). Seronsy rejects the identification of Delia with Mary Pembroke, pointing out how "shadowy" a figure Delia is, and arguing that there is little evidence in the sonnet sequence for a biographical reading (25). Rees finds a few more biographical clues, but also declines to identify Delia, stressing rather that "*Delia* is not a dramatic sequence like *Astrophel and Stella*[,] and personal tensions, if there ever were any, seem to have dissolved away in melody and lucid imagery" (*Daniel* 13). Hannay cites Lamb's observation that "Delia is an anagram for *ideal*, a generalized description of no biographical significance" (*Phoenix* 117). Svennson does not address the question.

[181] In my view, Vickers's comment on Petrarch's *Rime Sparse* applies equally well to Daniel's *Delia*: "One might then wonder, following Mary Jacobus, if there is a woman in this text explicitly dedicated to the celebration of a woman. Or, rather, does the shield of Laura/lauro but stand as a glossy surface positioned both to reflect Petrarch's own image of himself and to dazzle a world of rival poets stupefied by its display?" ("Blazon'" 112).

> Wonder of these, glory of other times
> O thou whom enuy eu'n is forst t'admire:
> Great Patronesse of these my humble Rymes,
> Which thou from out thy greatnes dost in spire:
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Whereof, the trauaile I may challenge mine,
> But yet the glory, (Madam) must be thine. (1-4, 13-14).

Of this sonnet, Hannay says only that "Daniel states that she inspires his rhymes, implying that she should see herself as Delia" (*Phoenix* 118),[183] and Rees reads it as suggesting "closer and more familiar acquaintance," in that "Daniel does not now merely hope for the Countess's protection, but he confidently enjoys it" (*Daniel* 9). Yet despite its frequent words of praise and admiration for Pembroke, the poem, which remained the dedication to all editions subsequent to 1594, seems to me to be remarkably combative, and much more so than the prose dedication it replaces.[184] Unlike the 1592 dedication, in which Pembroke "bind[s] posterity," and in which

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[182] Pembroke's poetics are the subject of discussion in my first chapter.

[183] I am not convinced that "greatness," an attribute of Pembroke that Daniel stresses in these lines, is particularly characteristic of his Delia.

[184] Even Marston, whose "independent means allowed him to disdain the search for patronage that preoccupied" other writers of the period (Knowles 2), takes pointed aim at the conventions for praising a powerful woman in his satirical dedication to *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image*, which is worth comparing with Daniel's sonnet to Pembroke:

TO THE WORLDS MIGHTIE MONARCH,
GOOD OPINION:

Daniel assures her that she "*must* suruiue" herself (emphasis added), in the later sonnet it is contemporary writers who are now bound. Envy "is forst t'admire" Daniel's patron, who although confined to parentheses "must" yet have "the glory." Nevertheless, the poet "challenge[s]" the work as his own.[185]

Daniel's revised attitudes towards his patron and the poetics she endorses tell a story that parallels the one suggested by his continually revised sonnet sequence itself. The structure he refined through his revisions of *Delia*, as C. F. Williamson has argued so persuasively, also tells a story of increased artistic confidence associated with a resistance to female domination:

> In the first part of the sequence [Sonnets I-XXXIV], the poet is consistently apologetic about his own poetry, and takes the view that it reveals an infatuation of which he has reason to feel ashamed. ... But from XXXV onward all this is changed .... The note of apology has been replaced by one of triumphant confidence. ... The relationship with Delia which had at first been seen only as a cause of suffering to the lover takes on an entirely new aspect once it is recognized as the opportunity for achieving distinction as a

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Sole Regent of Affection, perpetuall Ruler of Iudgement, most famous Iustice of Censures, onelly giuer of Honor, great procurer of Aduancement, the Worlds chiefe Ballance, the All of all, and All in all, by whom all things are yet that they are. I humbly offer thys my Poem.

Thou soule of Pleasure, Honors only substance,
Greate Arbitrator, Vmpire of the Earth,
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
If thou but daine to grace my blushing stile,
And crowne my Muse with good opinion:
If thou vouchsafe with gracious eye to smile
Vpon my young new-borne Inuention,
  Ile sing an Hymne in honor of thy name,
  And add some Trophie to enlarge my fame.
But if thou wilt not ...
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
I will disclose, that all the world shall ken
  How partiall thou art in honours giuing:
  Crowning the shade, the substance praise depriuing. (A3-A3v)

[185] Daniel's removal of the very complaining "M.P." sonnet (Sonnet 39 in the first edition, absent from all subsequent editions) may be considered evidence for a counter-argument: if we take "M.P." to refer to Pembroke, as Seronsy does, then the sonnet's removal may signify an increasing respect for Daniel's new patron, acquired after the publication of the first edition. (Seronsy also cites the sonnet's title as reason not to identify Pembroke with Delia: if this "M.P." is Pembroke, then Delia cannot be [25-6]). However, Rees offers a strong argument for identifying M.P. with someone else (*Daniel* 16). Why Daniel removed the poem then remains subject for speculation: did he repent its biographical transparency? The decision may well have been motivated by entirely artistic concerns: the sonnet's "startling, even grim" nature is out of place in the sequence (Rees, *Daniel* 15), with the overall pattern of which Daniel was deeply concerned. It is also possible that Daniel realized (on his own or with prompting) that, given the collection's dedication, readers *would* take "M.P." to constitute an unflattering reference to the Countess, rightly or wrongly.

> poet. The durability of marble, which in XIII represented Delia's stony heart, has now [in XLI] become a measure of the power of verse. (253-54, 256)[186]

By the end of the sequence, in Svennson's terms, the poet finally "feels confident about his ability to immortalize his lady" (Svennson 245). What I would add to Williamson's argument is that it is the discourse of Pygmalion that helps the humble Actaeon of the first half to metamorphose into the triumphant artist of the second.

Daniel's Sonnet Five is often referred to as "the Actaeon sonnet."[187] While its treatment of the Actaeon myth shows the influence of both Ovid and of Petrarch's *Rime Sparse* 52, Daniel follows the Ovidian tradition in stressing "error" as the cause of his Actaeon's metamorphosis.[188] He had committed "error" even before his "minde" wandered into the "waies" that ended with his responding Actaeon-like to some Diana:

> Whilst youth and error led my wandring minde,
>     And set my thoughts in heedles waies to range:
>     All vnawares, a Goddesse chaste I finde,
>     (*Diana*-like) to worke my suddaine change.
> For her no sooner had mine eye bewraid,
>     But with disdaine to see me in that place,
>     With fairest hand the sweet vnkindest maid,
>     Cast water-cold disdaine vpon my face.
> Which turnd my sport into a Harts dispaire,
>     Which still is chac'd, while I haue any breath,
>     By mine owne thoughts, set on me by my Faire:
>     My thoughts (like hounds) pursue me to my death.
> Those that I fostred of mine owne accord,
> Are made by her to murther thus their Lord.

Those "thoughts" that he "fostred of" his "owne accord" may include, then, not only those called to life by the sight of the Goddesse, but those that ranged towards her in their heedless way. Even as the poet flees, he reflects, and begins to consider other ways of thinking about how he has been thinking—begins that is to seek other poetic paths.

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[186] Although Svennson's model of *Delia*'s structure is more complicated, it is based on Williamson's, and I agree with Svennson's assessment of Williamson's theory as "well-founded and closely argued" (24). Claes Schaar gives a thorough discussion of the structure of Daniel's individual sonnets, but does not discuss the overall structure of the sequence.

[187] Throughout this project I follow standard editorial practice in referring to Daniel's sonnets by the numbers under which they appear in the 1601 edition.

[188] See Svennson for a detailed discussion of influences, including the later sonneteers in Italian, French, and English (71-87).

As early as Sonnet Thirteen Daniel begins to posit an alternative role model for the poet. Here the speaker expresses his envy of Pygmalion, so much happier than he:

Behold what hap *Pigmalion* had to frame
    And carue his proper griefe vpon a stone;
    My heauie fortune is much like the same,
    I worke on flint, and that's the cause I mone.
For haplesse loe euen with mine owne desires,
    I figurde on the table of mine hart,
    The fairest forme, that all the world admires,
    And so did perish by my proper art.
And still I toyle, to change the Marble brest
    Of her, whose sweetest grace I do adore,
    Yet cannot finde her breathe vnto my rest,
    Hard is her hart, and woe is me therefore.
But happie he that ioy'd his stone and art,
Vnhappie I, to loue a stonie hart.

The poet now recognizes himself as being both like and unlike Pygmalion: his "heauvie fortune is much like the same," in that he works "on flint"; however, Pygmalion is that "happie he" who "ioy'd his stone and art," whereas the poet is "Vnhappie I, to loue a stonie hart."

Furthermore, in changing his focus from his own heart to his beloved's heart of flint, Daniel's lover is also preparing to change his poetics.[189] In Sonnet Five, the speaker attributes his self-destructive thought-hounds to Delia's inspiration ("By mine owne thoughts, set on me by my Faire"), although he considers the possibility that he has been responsible for his own destruction, since "Those that I fostred of mine owne accord, / Are made by her to murther thus their Lord." In Sonnet Thirteen, however, the speaker represents his past imitation of Actaeon as having constituted his "proper art": most literally the term "proper" means "own," but the phrase "proper art" also raises the issue of artistic convention and propriety. The poet now considers that his fate may be not just the consequence of his love, or even of his beloved's cruelty, but of his "proper" representational practices. Furthermore, such "figuring" as he has been practising, the poet now finds, only transforms himself: it does not "change the Marble brest / Of her." Such self-abasing "toyle" is therefore fruitless.

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[189] According to Svennson, "'I figurde' embodies a view of the *innamoramento* that was common during the Renaissance—that, on falling in love, one engraves (or paints) the beloved's portrait in one's heart" (145). On this construction, "the fatal mistake was to fall in love, to figure Delia's image on 'the table of mine heart', an action to be distinguished from subsequent attempts to make her change her mind" (Svennson 147). Compare the well-known lines in Sidney's *Atrophil and Stella,* in which the poet reports how, when "words came halting forth," he was able to begin once "'Fool,' said my muse to me; 'look in thy heart,and write'" (1; 9, 14). In his heart he found the image of Stella. According to the OED, "heart" at this time could refer to the mind in its widest sense—it does not necessarily convey sincere emotions or intuition primarily.

At this point, the poet still needs to find a marble he can work. In Sonnet Nineteen, however, he begins to apply the lessons learned.[190] Here he acts on his awareness of Perseus/Pygmalion as a model by expressing his desire to undo the woman instead of himself:

> Restore thy tresses to the golden Ore,
> Yeelde *Cithereas* sonne those Arkes of love;[191]
> Bequeath the heavens the starres that I adore,
> And to th'Orient do thy Pearles remove.
> Yeeld thy hands pride vnto th'Iuory white,
> T'*Arabian* odors giue thy breathing sweete:
> Restore thy blush vnto *Aurora* bright,
> To *Thetis* giue the honour of thy feet.
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Yeelde to the Marble thy hard hart againe;
> So shalt thou cease to plague, and I to paine. (1-8, 13-14)

It is now Delia, not the poet, who is the "hart" that, like Actaeon, must be disassembled. In imagining her returned to "Marble," furthermore, the poet (who, as the Renaissance poet was keenly aware, is by definition a "maker") makes of the undone Delia the raw material on which he can now demonstrate his artistic power. This sonnet also identifies the desired self-unfashioning with a change in regime from one dominated by a woman (*Citherea*) to one dominated by a man ("*Cithereas* son").

This change having been accomplished, it is his imaginative domination of Delia that the second part of the sonnet sequence celebrates.[192] For, having imagined Delia returned to marble, the artist is now able to fashion himself after the model of Pygmalion, and make with his poetry a woman more perfect, and more perfectly unchanging, than the now-scattered original. In the second part of *Delia*, Daniel repeatedly affirms the permanence of the poem itself, in contrast to that of the beloved's body, which the speaker repeatedly imagines as decrepit or dead. Even when the speaker describes the present beauty of his mistress, as he does in Sonnet Fifty-two, for instance, it is the inevitable passing of Delia's beauty's that motivates him more than its present perfection. He claims that the impulse for his writing is her "beautie" (8) and asserts that "I must sing of thee, and those faire eies" (5), yet he concludes by offering to her his sonnets as

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[190] Sonnets Thirteen and Nineteen are, in the 1592 edition, consecutive: Twelve and Thirteen.
[191] According to Svennson, "Arkes of love" are eyebrows (177).
[192] Sonnet Thirty-four, the last one in the first section of the sonnet sequence, challenges Delia to
> … leaue thy glasse, and gaze thy selfe on mee,

> … the Arkes, the Trophies I erect,
> That fortifie thy name against old age:
> And these thy sacred vertues must protect,
> Against the darke and Tymes consuming rage. (9-12)[193]

Nevertheless, despite his resistance to Actaeon's position, the motif of dismemberment pervades the second half of the sequence. In Sonnet Thirty-nine, the speaker imagines his mistress "When winter snowes vpon thy sable haires, / And frost of age hath nipt thy beauties neere" (1-2), and then offers her

> … this picture which I here present thee,
>     Limned with a Pensill not all unworthy:
>     Here see the gifts that God and nature lent thee.
>     Here read thy selfe, and what I suffred for thee.
> This may remaine thy lasting monument,
>     Which happily posteritie may cherrish,
>     These colours with thy fading are not spent,
>     These may remain when thou and I shal perrish.
> If they remaine, then thou shalt live thereby,
> They will remaine, and so thou canst not die. (5-14)

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> That Mirror shewes what power is in thy face:
> To view your forme too much, may danger bee,
> *Narcissus* chang'd t'a flower in such a case.
> And you are chang'd, but not t'a Hiacint;
> I feare your eye hath turnd your hart to flint. (9-14)

He is the image of her power, as he says earlier in the sonnet ("And of what force thy wounding graces are, / Vpon my selfe thou best maist finde the form" (7-8). Nevertheless, the poem concludes by asserting that it is she, not he, who has been transformed—she is her *own* Medusa.

[193] See also Sonnet Forty-Six in the 1592 edition: "When thou surcharg'd with burthen of thy yeeres, / Shalt bend thy wrinkles homeward to the earth: / When time hath made a pasport for thy fears, / Dated in age the Kalends of our death" (9-12).

The word "remain(e)" occurs four times in this sonnet, including once in each of the final three lines. This artist's impulse to construct a "picture" that will last does indeed bear an uncanny resemblance to an anatomist's obsession with ephemeral human remains.[194]

### 4. Intim(id)ations of (im)mortality

> Let not my love be called idolatry,
> Nor my belovèd as an idol show.
> – Shakespeare, Sonnet 105, 1-2.

Unlike Daniel's poet, Cary's Herod has no artistic aspirations. The power he seeks to demonstrate is political. He is no different, though, in his need for a Galatea who will stand as the image of his power, no different in conflating that power with sexual potency, no different in his fear of "the darke and Tymes consuming rage" or in his association of that dark power, so opposed to his own, with the female body. Like both Guilpin's narrator and Pembroke's Antony, furthermore, he proves himself a Pygmalion not by creating a beautiful woman but by constructing an authoritative reading of her. The world of *Mariam* is a world in which a man must be able to recognize a beautiful woman as a false idol, in order to *avoid* the trap of worshipping her, which will only make him weak. It is also a world in which at least one man has, unlike Daniel's poet, the power to act on his impulse to dismember.

Herod returns from Rome with a fantasy that involves Mariam's body offering itself to his eye, a singular "eye" that to him suffices to signify his "I":

> But when I am with Mariam, time runs on,
> Her sight can make months minutes, days of weeks:
> An hour is then no sooner come than gone
> When in her face mine eye for wonders seeks.
> You world-commanding city, Europe's grace,
> Twice hath my curious eye your streets survey'd,
> I have seen the statue-filled place,
> That once if not for grief had been betray'd.
> I all your Roman beauties have beheld,
> And seen the shows your ediles did prepare;

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[194] Contemporary Canadian playwright Brad Fraser is clearly not the first to interest himself in the connection between *Unidentified Human Remains and the True Meaning of Love.*

> I saw the sum of what in you excell'd,
> Yet saw no miracle like Mariam rare.
> The fair and famous Livia, Caesar's love,
> The world's commanding mistress did I see:
> Whose beauties both the world and Rome approve,
> Yet, Mariam, Livia is not like to thee.
> Be patient but a little while, mine eyes,
> Within your compassed limits be contained;
> That object straight shall your desires suffice,
> From which you were so long a while restrain'd.
> How wisely Mariam doth the time delay .... (4.1.17-37)

Herod longs to see Mariam, but he particularly longs to see her as a carefully controlled spectacle. Urging his eyes to be patiently "contained" within their "compassed limits," he chooses to assume the fixed position of Dürer's artist, whose single eye, contained within the compass of the instrument through which it peers, comprehends everything the scene before him contains. Herod anticipates that, viewing Mariam thus, his "desires" will be consequently satisfied, and not otherwise.[195]

However, the way Herod plans to view Mariam is one that confines her within "compassed limits" as inevitably as it does his own eyes. Herod gets to fix the frame; Mariam must fill it. In assuming the position of the artist with the authoritative gaze, in other words, Herod requires that Mariam assume the position of the artist's model. She must do her best to resemble—at once to recall and to anticipate—the work of art that Herod wants to see in her. It is statues, not living women, that head Herod's list of Rome's "beauties." He does proceed to add Livia to the list, but including both her and Rome's statues under the ambiguous term "Roman beauties" suggests his reluctance to acknowledge any significant difference between statue and woman. Thus, although Herod cites the "beauties" of "statue-filled" Rome in order to assert that Mariam's face is the greater wonder, the comparison also reveals that the marble statue is the ideal against which Herod measures his memory of Mariam's real self. Unlike the queen of Davies's "Hymne VIII," the queen of Herod's longing works no miracles of transformation. Rather, she *is* a "miracle." The "wonders" that his eye "seeks" in "her face" are her beauty and her love for him: signs of his and nature's power, not of hers.

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[195] Gutierrez identifies the last fourteen lines of this scene, 29-42, as a sonnet. Since the entire script is written in abab quatrains, I am not sure that the fact this scene ends in a rhyming couplet entirely justifies the label. Nevertheless, her point that Herod here "voices several Petrarchan conventions: the beauty of the lover's mistress when compared to other famous beautiful women (ll. 1286-89 [29-32]); the impatience of the lover to see his mistress (ll. 1290-97 [33-40]); and the need for the lover to hide his emotions form the world (ll. 1298-99 [41-42])" is a valid and important one (240).

There is one miracle that according to Herod such wonders can work; however, it is one not of transformation but of preservation. Herod repeatedly credits Mariam with power over time itself: when he is with her, he says, "time runs on"; he commends "How wisely Mariam doth the time delay." Although this last comment literally refers to her delaying the moment of her arrival in his sight, its phrasing underscores Herod's need to construct Mariam as one who can work the "wonder" of defeating time itself on his behalf. Like that of a statue, the face Herod has "beheld" in the past is exactly the same one he anticipates seeing imminently. When Mariam looks at him with the unblinking gaze of Galatean love, he feels himself to be immune to time's ravages: "Her sight can make months minutes," Herod claims. The ambiguous syntax of this assertion also elides the difference between his act of viewing Mariam, and her act of viewing him. All the perfect woman can see is him seeing her—a continuous replay of the moment in Golding's version of the Pygmalion myth, when the waking statue first opens "Hir eyelidds up, hir Lover and the light at once" to "spye" (X.320). Such a face cannot be merely mortal. It must be both more and less than mortal: still, unchanging, more statue than woman. No wonder Herod makes no reference here to enjoying Mariam's *company*, her words, or her actions—only to her face. What he sees must be everything she is, and everything she is must reinforce his power.[196]

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[196] Quilligan makes a similar observation, although she considers speech only and not looks as well: "The role of wife is one in which a woman exercises her self only to erase her self so that her husband may have a self. She is not to be mute, but to provide a 'conversation' out of which he will construct his self. What she says, she says *only* to him" (227).

It was not always quite thus, however.[197] Herod has just returned from a brush with death, where he was confronted with the facts of his subjection both to Caesar and to mortality, and his tolerance for reminders of either is at a new low. Clearly, his experience in that city, filled with images of its permanence and mastery, haunts his memory as much as Mariam's face does, and he needs the latter somehow to redeem the former—by being picture-perfect, and silent. Later in this act Herod does offer praise to Mariam's verbal skills, but he places her exercise of them firmly in the past:

> HEROD. But have you heard her speak?
> SALOME. You know I have.
> HEROD. And were you not amaz'd?
> SALOME. No, not a whit.
> HEROD. Then 'twas not her you heard; her life I'll save,
> For Mariam hath a world-amazing wit. (4.7.424-28)

To be "amazed," however, is to be lost, bewildered, unable to purposefully proceed; it is, as we may recall from Golding's Pygmalion, to be shaken and infirm. It is thus but a small step from Herod's proud and loving amazement of yesterday to his fearful question of today, "Can human eyes be daz'd by woman's wit?" (4.7.496). Of course, Salome helps Herod take that small step by playing on *amazing*'s connotations of *unnatural* and *destabilizing*. She does this by emphasizing Mariam's "tongue" and her "mouth": evidence that, unlike a painting or a statue, the face is not a coherent impermeable surface. No, Mariam's face contains an orifice, both point of entry and source of outflow. Salome responds to Herod's praise as follows:

> SALOME. She speaks a beauteous language, but within
> Her heart is false as powder: and her tongue
> Doth but allure the auditors to sin,
> And is the instrument to do you wrong.
> HEROD. It may be so; nay, 'tis so: she's unchaste,
> Her mouth will ope to ev'ry stranger's ear:
> Then let the executioner make haste,
> Lest she enchant him, if her words he hear. (4.7.429-36)

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[197] Although Herod's change in attitude is significant, however, it represents less a sea- change than a slight shift in emphasis, one that exposes the violence always inhering in the dominant discourse of the culture Mariam has grown up in.

On these terms, if Herod has been *amazed*, it is because of Mariam's *allure*, a word that suggests both beauty and the willful practice of black arts, namely *enchantment*. Such a woman can make "a Prince a Page," or make a king a cuckold. The thought of Mariam exercising her wit now or in the future, and the thought of Mariam's open mouth, sign of her body's permeability and reminder of how much there is to her that he cannot see, turns Herod's remembered amazement into present terror, a terror that his sight will be dazed or rendered unreliable. This is a sense that, increasingly, Herod cannot afford to doubt.

In the world of Herod's palace that Cary constructs, however, the representational strategies of the monarchic blazon, by which the queen is constructed as speaking idol, are assumed by all, without being questioned or even made explicit. As we shall see, Pembroke's Cleopatra's refusal to imitate Galatea is motivated both by her awareness of the risks such a performance entails, and her awareness that it is indeed a performance. But here, as the various characters of Cary's drama argue over just *how* to read Mariam's features, they are able to do so only because they agree on the terms of the debate. The many arguments culminate in the intense stichomythic encounter between Salome and Herod in act 4 of *Mariam*, the outcome of which is literally a matter of life and death:

> HEROD. But have you seen her cheek?
> SALOME. A thousand times.
> HEROD. But did you mark it too?
> SALOME. Aye, very well.
> HEROD. What is't?
> SALOME. A crimson bush that ever limes
> The soul whose foresight doth not much excel.
> HEROD. Send word she shall not die. Her cheek a bush!
> Nay then I see indeed you marked it not.
> SALOME. 'Tis very fair, but yet will never blush,
> Though foul dishonours do her forehead blot.
> HEROD. Then let her die, 'tis very true indeed,
> And for this fault alone shall Mariam bleed. (4.7.43-52)

On first reading, Herod and Salome appear to be describing Mariam in very different terms from those Diomede uses to describe Cleopatra. After all, we find here no mention of marble or alabaster. Yet Salome's assertion, and Herod's instant agreement, that Mariam's cheek "will never blush, / Though foul dishonours do her forehead blot" relies on much the same discourse of female perfection as Diomede's. If Mariam is as beautiful as Herod says, then her cheek, too perfect to be like ordinary mortal cheeks, must be incapable of flux (quite unlike those cheeks celebrated by Davies in "Hymne XI. *To the Sunne*," which acquire "N ew rednesse" from the sun that goes its "Round" in Eliza's face). However, such a picture-perfect cheek is incapable of registering any emotion, including guilt, and therefore its very perfection proves Mariam's moral corruption. It is by playing on such assumptions that Salome is able to construct Mariam as morally monstrous with such appalling ease.

Both Herod and Salome are firmly committed to the importance, and legitimacy, of making diverse schedules of Mariam's beauty, a trope that invites Salome's exploitation. The representational regime they both serve is the reason Salome finds it so easy to convince Herod to read Mariam's cheek as a deathtrap and a sign of uncontained sexuality. One of the most striking features of Salome's argument is the way in which she degrades and sexualizes Mariam by recasting her "cheek" as "crimson bush," thereby shifting Herod's attention from Mariam's face to her genitalia. As Betts points out, a common feature of the monarchic blazons found in both the courtly panegyric (including Puttenham's) and the pornographic blazon is the use of landscape imagery to suggest the vulva while ostensibly describing a different body part.[198] In the case of Mariam's terrain, according to Salome, the chief feature is a bush limed to trap birds: a landscape made dangerous through artifice.[199] Seeing the perfect surface of his wife and recognizing the corruption it seeks to hide is how Herod proves his possession of the perception worthy of a king.

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[198] See, for instance, her discussion of Barnabe Barnes' *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* (1593), pp. 165-68). Perhaps this explains why there is no mention of cheeks or lips in "All Creatures Now" or "Astrea."
[199] The bird Salome refers to is, of course, a phallic symbol.

## B. "INVENTIVE PRIDE": ADMIRATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS

> Am I the woman whose inuentiue pride,
> Adorn'd like *Isis*, scorn'd mortality?
> Is't I would haue my frailety so belide,
> That flattery could perswade I was not I?
> - Samuel Daniel, *Cleopatra*, 1.33-36

Pembroke and Cary both recognize the dangerous consequences to women of celebrating Galatea as an ideal, but it is a trend that many of their male contemporaries embrace, including Marston, Guilpin, and Daniel. These authors' works exemplify the attractions of the Pygmalion myth to male writers of the era, and examine some of the strategies available to an early modern man who is tired of fashioning himself after Actaeon's example but wishes to blaze his heroic status. Furthermore, Daniel's numerous revisions over the course of the 1590s and early 1600s, to his Senecan drama *Cleopatra* as well as to his sonnet sequence *Delia*, offer a fascinating case study of a male poet of the period's ambivalent response to the powerful women he depended on and the representational strategies they preferred. Like his contemporaries, Daniel explores ambition and anxiety in terms of masculine resistance to female domination; in *Cleopatra*, he figures the latter as a lustful, ageing, decayed beauty who is unsuccessfully manipulative. Accordingly, his portrayal of an image-conscious Cleopatra explicitly corrects Pembroke's earlier characterization of the Egyptian queen as a woman who consistently resists being made a spectacle, one furthermore whose appearance is firmly under her own control. The world, as Daniel and his contemporaries wish to see it, clearly belongs to Caesar now, whose expert reading of the female form demonstrates his right to rule. The dilemma for Cleopatra and Mariam, living under such a regime, is that, since a moving or speaking woman reveals the changeable, permeable flesh beneath the paint, the woman who tries to offer an interpretation of her own face proves her own monstrosity. But to keep completely still is also to risk becoming other than human—not monstrous this time, just dead. Hermione's dilemma in *The Winter's Tale* is similar, for her Leontes has much in common with Cary's Herod and Pembroke's Caesar. Nevertheless, Paulina and Hermione find a way of exercising their powers of invention that recalls the strategies of Pembroke's Cleopatra, and effectively resists both Leontes's and the audience's monumentalizing impulse.

## 1. "Beauty's waine" and the smoke of flattery

> And because loue is of all other humane affections the most puissant and passionate, and most generall to all sortes and ages of men and women, … it requireth a form of Poesie variable, inconstant, affected, curious and most witty of any others, whereof the ioyes were to be vttered in one sorte, the sorrowes in an other, and by the many formes of Poesie, the many moodes and panges of louers, throughly to be discouered … .
> – George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*

Such assertions of artistic permanence as those we find in Daniel's *Delia* depend for their effect on assertions of the female body's terrible impermanence: they are performances of heroism in the face of the Medusa.[200] The mortal female body is very much a preoccupation of Daniel's *Cleopatra* as well, and in this text, in ways that recall Guilpin's "Satyra Secunda," it becomes difficult to separate Cleopatra's duplicity from her equally dangerous mortality.[201] The contemptible artifice of an ageing former beauty is not itself a subject of *Delia*, for there the poet's own skill obviates the necessity for such lesser interventions as masks and make-up. But it is very much a target of Daniel's satire in his verse drama. This early self-rebuke of Cleopatra's announces Daniel's concern with the destructive and corrupting effect of the queen's self-deceiving stratagems:

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[200] Not all critics necessarily agree on what the Medusa signifies, although discussions of recent decades all engage, whether implicitly or explicitly, with Freud's influential interpretation:

> The sight of the Medusa's head makes the spectator stiff with terror, turns him to stone. Observe that we have here once again the same origin from the castration complex and the same transformation of affect! For becoming stiff means an errection. Thus in the original situation it offers consolation to the spectator: he is still in possession of a penis, and the stiffening reassures him of the fact. (qtd. in Hertz 31).

In "The Laugh of the Medusa" (1975), Cixous argues in implicit contradiction to Freud that men construct the Medusa for the *frisson* of pleasure it gives them, rather than as consolation and protection: "Men say that there are two unrepresentable things: death and the feminine sex. That's because they need femininity to be associated with death; it's the jitters that give them a hard-on! for themselves! They need to be afraid of us. Look at the trembling Perseuses moving backward toward us, clad in apotropes" (267). While Sawday links the terror of the Medusa to the sight of something, he identifies this "something" as, not the vagina, but the body-interior. In his view, "the image of the Medusa" is the "archetypal expression of body-fear," and Sawday makes a strong case for his argument that "The Medusa stands for fear of interiority; more often than not, a specifically male fear of the female interior" (9). He further argues that in early modern culture, the body-interior and its fluids are typically figured as female whatever the gender of the corpse.

[201] On a related topic, Mimi Still Dixon argues that "the connection between seduction by the woman and the threats of cultural others is ... almost an obsession in Daniel's play" (82).

> Am I the woman whose inuentiue pride,
> Adorn'd like *Isis*, scorn'd mortality?
> Is't I would haue my frailety so belide,
> That flattery could perswade I was not I?
> Well, now I see, they but delude that praise vs,
> Greatnesse is mockt, prosperity betrayes vs.
> And we are but our selues, although this cloud
> Of interposed smoake makes vs seeme more. (1.33-40)

An ageing, lustful body is the evidence Daniel repeatedly points to of the "mortality" and "frailety" that Cleopatra would have "belide." Indeed, I find it difficult not to read such a passage as an implied caution to other ageing powerful women who dared try to control how they were represented, Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Pembroke most obviously: Elizabeth with her well-known scorning of "mortality" as well as her control over the programme of her representation; Pembroke with her "inuentiue pride" as writer, translator, and patron. Cleopatra's dismissal of the once-valued "cloud / Of interposed smoake" in this passage may be taken as a rejection of the many proud inventions of an entire school of art: performances not of praise but of delusion.

We must not forget, moreover, that Daniel was himself an expert at constructing such smoke screens, as his dedicatory-epistle of *Cleopatra* to Pembroke demonstrates.[202] Unlike his verse dedication of *Delia*, there is little combative about this text. Although the first two lines tell a story of imposition rather than invitation, the rest of the first two stanzas is highly courteous:

> Loe heere the labour which she did impose,
> Whose influence did predominate my Muse:
> The starre of wonder my desires first chose
> To guide their trauels in the course I vse:
> She, whose cleare brightnesse had the powre t'infuse
> Strength to my thoughts, from whence these motions came,
> Call'd up my spirits from out their lowe repose,
> To sing of State, and tragicke notes to frame.

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[202] Various editions of *Cleopatra* were published in 1594, 1599, 1601, 1602, 1605, 1607, 1609, 1611 (twice in this year), and in Daniel's 1623 *Works*. "The editions of 1605, 1607, and 1609 omit the verse epistle-dedicatory to" Pembroke. The text of the 1623 edition, which I follow here unless otherwise stated, is essentially that of the 1599, 1601 and 1602 editions. This text is slightly, but not substantively, altered from the 1594 text (Grosart 3).

> I, who (contented with an humble song,)
> Made musique to my selfe that pleasd me best,
> And only told of DELIA, and her wrong,
> And praisd her eyes, and plaind mine owne vnrest:
> (A text from whence my Muse had not digrest)
> Madam, had not thy well grac'd *Antony*
> (Who all alone, hauing remained long,)
> Requir'd his *Cleopatras* company. (1-16)

The courteous tone is enhanced by the poetic style Daniel employs, for in comparing Pembroke to a "starre of wonder" he is writing in the style that, as we have seen, she herself approves. The conceit the second stanza concludes with, in which Pembroke's *Antonius* and Daniel's *Cleopatra* are personified, further humbles (*i.e.* effeminizes) Daniel in that the poet associates himself with Antony's desired female companion. However, the dedication continues in an elaboration of the conceit that as it proceeds sounds increasingly less like an author humbly belittling his play's qualities and increasingly more like an observer condemning the defects of the woman he portrays:

> Who as she here doe so appeare in Act,
> That he can scarce discerne her for his Queene,
> Finding how much she of her selfe hath lackt,
> And miss'd that grace wherein she should be seene,
> Her worth obscur'd, her spirit embased cleene .... (17-24)

It is in very similar terms, as we shall see, that Daniel's Cleopatra laments how much she lacks of herself when she appears in the play's opening act to announce how "dimly" shines her "graces light" (1.174).

I note, as well, that Daniel's dedicatory verse ends with a statement of ambition that English literature—particularly that of Sidney and Spenser, and particularly therefore that literature produced in Eliza's reign—should be known by all countries abroad. Daniel courteously includes Pembroke's work in the canon he imagines, asserting that Pembroke's own psalms are so good that she "must then be knowne, / When *Wilton* lies low leuell'd with the ground" (65-66). This is extremely high praise, and I do not challenge its sincerity. But I would also suggest that, with this last image, Daniel says of Wilton, "that little court,"[203] what he among others must sometimes think but dares not say of Hampton Court: it will not last forever.

Imagery of imminent devastation is at the centre of *Cleopatra*, which Daniel makes the story of an ageing queen losing control over her body and her "lascivious court" both at once:

> And euen affliction makes me truly loue thee.
> Which *Antony*, I much confesse my fault
> I neuer did sincerely vntill now:
> Now I protest I do, now am I taught
> In death to loue, in life that knew not how.
> For whilst my glory in her greatnesse stood,
> And that I saw my state, and knew my beauty;
> Saw how the world admir'd me, how they woo'd,
> I then thought all men must loue me of duety,
> And I loue none: for my lasciuious Court,
> Fertile in euer fresh and new-choyse pleasure,
> Affoorded me so bountifull disport,
> That I to stay on Loue had neuer leisure:
> My vagabond desires no limites found,
> For lust is endlesse, pleasure hath no bound.
> Thou comming from the strictnesse of thy City,
> And neuer this loose pomp of monarchs learnest,
> Inur'd to warres, in women's wiles vnwitty,
> Whilst others faind, thou fell'st to loue in earnest;
> Not knowing how we like them best that houer,
> And make least reckoning of a doting louer.
> And yet thou cams't but in my beauties waine,
> When new appearing wrinckles of declining
> Wrought with the hand of yeares, seem'd to detaine
> My graces light, as now but dimly shining,
> Euen in the confines of mine age .... (1.150-75)

The passage moves from specific references to Cleopatra's character and court to generalizations about the "loose pomp of monarchs," especially female ones who "like them best that houer." It then returns to the particulars of Cleopatra's relationship with Antony, innocent about "women's wiles" and thus sadly deceived into love. Although this hero is middle-aged, Daniel's "unwitty" Antony nevertheless recalls the "youth and error" of his Actaeon-like poet in *Delia*, and it is worth remembering in this context that Queen Elizabeth strategically figured her own courtiers (of every age) as Actaeons, whether past, present, or potential.[204]

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[203] Nicholas Breton, *Wit's Trenchmour* (19).

In my reading of the passage quoted above, as in my reading of the play in general, I come to very different conclusions from those drawn by Rees, although I am indebted to her observation that "This passage is in direct contradiction to what Plutarch says of Cleopatra's beauty: ' … Caesar and Pompey knew her when she was a young thing, and knew not then what the worlde ment: but nowe she went to Antonius at the age when a woman's beawtie is at the prime, and she also of best judgement'" (56). According to Rees, "The alteration enables Daniel to illustrate the change he conceives to have taken place in Cleopatra's character under the pressure of sorrow, her ruthless examination of herself, and her new tenderness towards Antony" (*Daniel* 56). Yet a comparison of Daniel's text with Pembroke's calls such conclusions into question. Daniel's very insistence on Cleopatra's declining beauty, and his insistence that her "tenderness towards Antony" is something *new* rather than something of long standing, are both in direct contradiction not only of Plutarch but also of Pembroke's representation of Cleopatra in *Antonius*. Unlike Daniel, Pembroke places control of Cleopatra's beauty firmly in the queen's own hands, and unequivocally asserts her continuing, long-standing devotion to her husband Antony.

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[204] As Leonard Barkan puts it, "Because the virgin queen, so frequently mythologized as Diana, had more than her share of blasphemous, or lustful, or seditious Actaeons, the myth takes on considerable vitality during her reign." As partial evidence, Barkan reports:

> We know from the diaries of foreign travelers in England that the Actaeon story was depicted in at least two of the Queen's residences. … Another German traveler, Thomas Platter, reported that in the park of Nonsuch House, the scene of Diana and Actaeon was sculpted at a fountain 'with great art and life-like execution.' Here there were some verses celebrating chastity and bewailing the dangers of impurity arising in a fountain celebrating chastity—by implication the place at which Actaeon spied on Diana. (332-33)

Barkan emphasizes the cautionary function of such depictions as these and of Ben Jonson's *Cynthias Revels* (1600), depictions which warn against the presumptions of such designated Actaeons as "Philip II, who wooed the young Elizabeth after the death of his wife Mary and who found his presumption punished by the defeat of the Armada" (333) and, later, the Earl of Essex. But in Daniel's depiction of a comparable court, it is Diana (or Delia) rather than Actaeon who chooses knowingly to transgress. I also note that, a few years after the publication of *Cleopatra*, Daniel's friend Fulke Greville burned his *Antony and Cleopatra* because he was afraid it would be taken as too direct a reference to the Essex affair; furthermore, Daniel himself was called before the Privy Council to answer for what they felt were too direct references to the Essex affair in his second Senecan drama, *Philotas* (Hannay 126). The concern of Daniel's circle with the fate of young courtiers in the power of a vain and ageing queen, their dissatisfaction with her dalliance with Essex, and their awareness of the potential of the story of *Cleopatra* to explore such highly relevant issues, is incontrovertible, and as Hannay points out, the "tradition" of reading drama politically "was initiated, in part, by Mary Sidney. Like Shakespeare's later Roman and English history plays, including *Antony and Cleopatra*, the two dramas translated and sponsored by Mary Sidney emphasize political themes" (129). There can be little doubt that the parallels between Cleopatra's court and Elizabeth's had occurred or been suggested to Daniel before 1594, although his interpretation of those parallels does not entirely follow the Sidney-Pembroke party line.

Mimi Still Dixon and Sanders also read Daniel's play as an act of "subversion," with "Daniel quietly revising or erasing his powerful patron's inscription of female subjectivity in the guise of complementing [*sic*] it" (Dixon 81). As Sanders argues:

> Daniel controverts the complexity of Garnier/Sidney's representation of Cleopatra and reinstalls instead the straightforward categories of female badness and virtue found in didactic treatises. Drawing upon the highly negative account of Cleopatra by Dio, the source named by Garnier in his argument and omitted by Sidney in hers, Daniel stages the universal condemnation of Cleopatra as an example of lust, vanity, and inconstancy. Only then, having definitively framed her as an anti-ideal, does Daniel move Cleopatra into an exemplary figure by showing that she has learned to embody, through her suicide, the examples of Virginia and Lucrece. Like those paradigms of female virtue, Cleopatra cleanses herself of sexual stigma through death. While shades of stoicism also color her decision to take her life, making it partly a triumph over state authority, Daniel portrays the act primarily as a testament to her submission to dominant gender ideology. For Daniel, suicide is the length to which Cleopatra must go to excape negative categorization. (118-19)

Nonetheless, Rees is not alone among critics in concluding as she does that Daniel has in *Cleopatra* produced "a study of a character remarkable for its sympathy and insight" (*Daniel* 55), and even Sanders argues that "After encountering Shakespeare's tragedy, Daniel revised his *Tragedy of Cleopatra* in 1607 to incorporate elements of Sidney's and Shakespeare's more sympathetic views of Cleopatra" (*Daniel* 128). Seronsy, who says that *Cleopatra* "is the best of the English Senecan group," calls Daniel's queen "a warm and sensuous woman whose distress stirs our compassion" (45, 46). Rees's analysis of Daniel's portrayal of Cleopatra follows particularly closely that of Russell E. Leavenworth, who argues that "the task of writing *Cleopatra* grew under Daniel's hand so that the concept of Cleopatra's character also changed. By the time he had finished, his sympathies were decidedly more involved in his heroine. The result was that a number of Cleopatra's self-accusing statements are softened in the 1599 revision" (20-21).[205] However, Leavenworth offers no evidence in support of this assertion. Let us consider one representative revision:

> Following th/vnlucky party of my loue.
> Th'Ensigne of mine eyes, th'vnhappy collours,
> That him to mischiefe, mee to ruine droue.
> And now the modell made of misery,
> Scorne to the world, borne but for Fortunes foile,
> My lusts haue fram'd a Tombe for mee to lie,
> Euen in the ashes of my Countries spoyle.
> (1594, 18-24).

> Following th'vnlucky party of mine eyes,
> The traines of lust and imbecility,
> Whereby my dissolution is become
> The graue of Egypt, and the wracke of all;
> My vnforeseeing weakenesse must intoome
> My Countries fame and glory with my fall.
> (1611, 19-24)

Daniel has not "softened" "lust" into "weakeness," as a quick look at the last two lines of each passage may suggest. He has only advanced its position in the train of woes Cleopatra recites, and given it "imbecility" as a companion.

Nor can I quite sign off on Sanders's assertion that, "With the the publication in 1607 of a thoroughgoing revision of *The Tragedy of Cleopatra*, inspired in part by Shakespeare's recent play, Daniel recanted his previous representation of Cleopatra as a lying seductress" (130). If we compare the following passage from the 1607 edition with lines 150-75 quoted on p. 180, we find little reason for concluding that "In his 'newly altered' version of the play, Daniel recants his 1594 theory that Cleopatra never loved Antony while he was alive" (Sanders 134):

> And now affliction makes me truely loue thee.
> Which heretofore my vaine lasciuious Cort,
> Fertile in euer fresh, and new-choyce pleasure,
> Affoarded me so bountifull disport,
> That I to stay on loue, had neuer leisure.
> My vagabound desires no limits found,
> For lust is endlesse, pleasure hath no bound. (1607, 2.2)

Furthermore, from the 1607 edition of *Cleopatra*, included in *Certaine Small Workes*, Daniel omits the dedicatory poem to Pembroke. Instead, the work that immediately precedes *Cleopatra* is a relatively new one: "A Letter sent from Octavia to her husband *Marcus Antonius* into Egypt." The Argument describes Antony as "hauing yet vpon him the fetters of Egypt, ... toucht with the strongest allurements that ambition, and a licentious soueraigntie could draw a man vnto" (F4);

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[205] Leavenworth, for instance, asserts categorically that "There is nothing that Daniel could have learned from the Countess' *Antonie* in the way of poetic felicities. Rougher verse has seldom found a printer" (10).

the "Letter" itself begins with the lines, "To thee (yet deare) though most disloyall Lord, / Whom impious loue keepes in a barbarous Land" (F5). One could hardly imagine a more pointed, or damning, rebuke of Cleopatra than providing her with such a foil.

Certainly the fact that Daniel continued to rework the play long after he had left Pembroke's employ supports Rees's conclusion that he "became deeply interested in Cleopatra as he revolved the material for his play." I also agree with Rees's observation (again following Leavenworth) that Daniel "suggests that a passionate and tender devotion to her children is included in" Cleopatra's "personality" (*Daniel* 55). However, after a close comparison of Daniel's various editions, and of his play with Pembroke's, I cannot conclude that Daniel's sympathetic interest in Cleopatra is uncomplicated by hostility or contempt. And I would point out that a writer who repeatedly reworks a text may sometimes be found to be caught up in an unending struggle to resolve incompatible elements within it. It is not only that we may observe, with Rees, "some inconsistency as far as the [play's] moral is concerned," in that "while the Chorus and the philosophers talk about lust and luxury, the Cleopatra who is portrayed is at least well on the way to being purified" (*Daniel* 56). For Daniel is no more able than the Chorus and the philosophers to let go of his image of Cleopatra as essentially flawed by lust. Although the poet does portray Cleopatra as learning (too late) to love Antony truly, he is aligned with the Chorus in continuing to condemn her sexuality. According to the act 1 Chorus:

> *And* Cleopatra *now,*
> *Well sees the dangerous way*
> *She tooke, and car'd not how,*
> *Which led her to decay.*
> *And likewise makes vs pay*
> *For her disordred lust,*
> *The int'rest of our blood* .... (1.CHOR.223-28)

Cleopatra's own self-accusations of wantonness are frequent, and at no point in the play does anyone step forward to contradict them. Daniel even adds a new character, the philosopher Arius, building up an entirely new scene between the two philosophers, Arius and Philostratus, out of a brief mention in Plutarch (Leavenworth 27). As both Rees and Leavenworth argue, Philostratus's fearful reluctance to die "is thrown into contrast with Cleopatra, the woman of passions and action, whose very zest for life gives her the will to take it" (Leavenworth 28). However, besides acting as a sounding-board for Philostratus, another one of Arius's chief functions seems to be condemning Cleopatra's sensual self-indulgence:

> Who did not see we should be what we are,
> When pride and ryot grew to such abounding,
> When dissolute impietie possest
> Th'vnrespectiue mindes of Prince, and People:
> When insolent Securitie found rest
> In wanton thoughts, with lust and ease made feeble. (3.1.529-34)

Reading these lines, I recall how the act 1 Chorus revels in finding opportunity to condemn Cleopatra's sexuality:

> *Now euery mouth can tell,*
> *What close was muttered:*
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> *The bed of sinne reueal'd,*
> *And all the luxury that shame would haue conceal'd.* (1.CHOR.234-4; 244-5)

It is difficult not to conclude that Daniel takes a similar pleasure in doing so.

Nor are the products of that "bed of sinne," Cleopatra's children, free of the taint of shame in Daniel's text, even though Daniel does—as he has often been praised for doing—repeatedly affirm Cleopatra's motherly devotion. Indeed, it seems to me that Daniel consistently elevates Cleopatra's maternal qualities at the *expense* of her wifely tenderness towards Antony, honouring her motherhood yet more than Pembroke does (or at least taking more lines to do so), while insisting in direct contradiction to Pembroke that the children Cleopatra loves so well are, as his Cleopatra says, the "lucklesse issue of an wofull mother, / The wretched pledges of a wanton bed" (1.83-84).[206] It is true that with these lines and those that follow "the theme of

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[206] This is the opening speech of most, but not all, editions. One of the most frequently praised passages in Daniel's *Cleopatra* is the lengthy and moving scene of farewell between the queen and her children. This is act 4 scene 1 in most editions, but in the 1607 edition Daniel experiments with foregrounding Cleopatra's motherly qualities even more than in earlier editions, as he moves this scene to the beginning of the play, and adds new speeches between Caesario and Cleopatra, which show her son's respect for his "Deare soueraigne mother" (1607, l. 966). Daniel maintains this order of scenes in the 1609 and 1611 editions, but reverts to his original structure for the 1623 *Collected Works*.

Cleopatra's love and concern for her children is emphatically introduced" (Rees, *Daniel* 52), but it is important, I think, to recognize that the shameful conditions of their conception are emphasized with equal force at the same time.

Furthermore, while Daniel and Pembroke both show Cleopatra struggling between her love for her children and her desire for death, Daniel replaces wifely devotion with queenly pride as Cleopatra's chief motivation for suicide. Rees is quite correct in her assertion that there is nothing "comparable" in Pembroke's text to Cleopatra's conflict between her "instincts as a Queen and her instincts as a mother" in Daniel's (*Daniel* 53). But there is also nothing in Daniel's text comparable to the emphatic assertions we find Pembroke's Cleopatra making that her love for her husband Antony takes precedence over *both* her children and her reputation:

> *Ch.* Live for your sonnes. *Cl.* Nay for their father die.
> *Cha.* Hardhearted mother! *Cl.* Wife kindhearted I.
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> *Er.* What praise shall you of after-ages gett?
> *Cl.* Nor praise, nor glory in my cares are sett. (*Antonius* 2.2.562-63, 645-46)

Daniel's Cleopatra, in contrast, sums up her decision in this way: "That I must be a Queene, forget a mother" (1.96). Even though the proof of what Rees refers to as her purification rests on her discovery in herself of a new, true love for Antony, this love never attains the intensity of Pembroke's queen's. In this regard Daniel's play ends as it begins; his Cleopatra's penultimate words, according to the Nuntio, are "And here I sacrifice these armes to Death, / That lust late dedicated to Delights" (5.2.1551-52). Whereas Pembroke's Cleopatra consistently refuses to apologize for her physical relationship with Antony, Daniel's Cleopatra never ceases to do so. The central inconsistency of this text is, in my view, the fact that, despite its centrality to the plot, Cleopatra's love for Antony is never fully incorporated into her character. Her lust, her love for her children, her pride in her status and her concern with her appearance are far more convincingly drawn. Thus, as Dixon argues, "She fails to achieve the minimum of internal coherence that might lead us to see her as a sympathetic individual" (82). Yet she is, at the same time and for these same reasons also much more stereotypically female than Pembroke's queen. No wonder she has been popular with some of Daniel's readers.

In this verse drama as in *Delia*, then, establishing Daniel's right to a legitimate inventive pride involves representing women's powers of invention as being entirely, and futilely, invested in either defying mortality or indulging (instead of mortifying) the flesh. By critiquing Cleopatra's self-deceiving demand for lying "flattery," by portraying her as one who loves being regarded as a queen more than she loves any one individual, and by associating Cleopatra's "inventive pride" with Pembroke's, Daniel implicitly critiques both women's requirements of their courts (and, by implication, any other ruling woman's as well). The honesty of his own "proper art" is thus established partly through his demonstration of the dishonesty of woman, and through his refusal to perform the dishonest flattery that he constructs the female other as demanding.

## 2. "That all the world may know she dide a Queene"

> Indeed I saw she labour'd to impart
> Her sweetest graces in her saddest cheere ....
> - Samuel Daniel, *Cleopatra*, 3.1.735-37

As Pembroke portrays her, Cleopatra's performance of grief is, in addition to an expression of loyalty to Antony, an effective act of resistance to Caesar's conquest. But this resistance and this understanding Daniel, to a significant extent, denies her. For not only does Daniel insist on scripting the encounter with Caesar that Pembroke's Cleopatra successfully refuses, but he also portrays a queen who insists on making of herself the "grand image faux" that, two or three years earlier, Pembroke's Cleopatra had refused to paint, in a script that consistently legitimizes—even if it does not always satisfy—the viewer's desire for the spectacle of her body.

In act 3 scene 2 of *Cleopatra*, Daniel's queen does exactly that which Pembroke's refuses to do: she meets with Caesar and attempts to win him over. It is a tear-streaked face rather than a smiling one, that this Cleopatra shows to Caesar, but unlike the tears of Pembroke's script these are a disguise, and one that Caesar successfully penetrates. Neither character's behaviour in the following exchange is particularly admirable:

> CLEOPATRA. … here at thy conquering feete I lie,
> Poor captive soule, that neuer thought to bow:
>
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
>
> CAESAR. Rise Queene, none but thy selfe is cause of all;
>
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
>
> Thou mak'st my winning ioy a gaine vnpleasing:
> Sith th'eye of griefe must looke into our good,
> Thorow the horror of our owne bloodshedding:
> And all, we must attribute vnto thee.
> CLEOPATRA. To me? *Caesar*, what should a woman doe
> Opprest with greatnes? what, was it for me
> To contradict my Lord, being bent thereto?
> I was by loue, by feare, by weakenesse, made
> An instrument to such disseignes as these.
> For when the Lord of all the Orient bade,
> Who but obey'd? who was not glad to please?
> And how could I withdraw my succouring hand
> From him that had my heart, and what was mine?
> The int'rest of my faith in streightest band,
> My loue to his most firmly did combine.
>
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
>
> O *Caesar*, see how easie tis t'accuse
> Whom Fortune hath made faulty by their fall;
>
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
>
> Depresse not the afflicted ouer-much,
> The chiefest glory is the Victors lenity.
>
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
>
> CAESAR. Well *Cleopatra*, feare not; thou shalt finde
> What fauour thou desir'st, or canst expect:
> For *Caesar* neuer yet was found but kinde
> To such as yeeld, and can themselues subiect.
> (3.2.613-14, 617, 622-36, 645-46, 663-64, 695-98)

This Cleopatra tries to save herself by placing all responsibility on Antony, in shocking contrast to the self-blame that has characterized her hitherto (and she does the same in the 1607 edition). Since the Chorus and other characters agree in blaming Cleopatra, as we have seen, we may conclude that Daniel expects us to agree with Caesar's judgement of Cleopatra as "cause of all": it is accurate, according to Daniel, if harsh.

Daniel's Caesar is little different from Pembroke's in his ruthlessness and cold-blooded dishonesty,. He shamelessly meets deception with deception, as he informs Dolabella in words that echo Pembroke's:

> … I seeke but t'entertaine
> In her some feeding hope to draw her forth;
> The greatest Trophey that my trauailes gaine,
> Is, to bring home a prizall of such worth. (3.2.745-48)[207]

However, unlike Pembroke's Caesar, whom Cleopatra successfully dupes, this Caesar wields an interpretive authority that would justify his political (if not his moral) authority. The satisfaction he gets from Cleopatra is also far greater than that which Pembroke allows. He is clearly superior to Dolabella, whose insistence on reading Cleopatra's features as "artlesse" exposes him as an incompetent reader of woman's body:

> DOLABELLA. What can vntressèd lockes, can torne rent haire,
> A weeping eye, a wailing face be faire?
> I see then, artlesse feature can content,
> And that true beauty needes no ornament.
> CAESAR. What in a passion *Dolabella*? what? take heed:
> Let others fresh examples be thy warning;
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Indeed I saw she labour'd to impart
> Her sweetest graces in her saddest cheere:
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> But all in vaine; she takes her ayme amisse,
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Time now hath altred all, for neither is
> She as she was, nor we as she conceiues.
> And therefore now, twere best she left such badnes;
> Folly in youth is sinne, in age, tis madnes. (727-32, 735-37, 739, 741-44)

The "streaming teares" of Pembroke's Cleopatra, shed in self-made seclusion, signify her genuine love for Antony and her refusal to make any attempt to charm Caesar with her very real beauty (5, l. 1935). The tears of Daniel's Cleopatra, in contrast, underscore how ready she is to betray Antony by blaming everything on him, and how inappropriately committed she is to such deceptive practices now that she is "altred" by "age." Her attempted performance fails to convince; both she and Dolabella, are met with mockery and contempt. She also makes it easy for Caesar to demonstrate his authority over his inferior male companion by reading Cleopatra's paintings correctly. This lustful wily hag offers herself to his view, stays till he is done, and provides ample detail in support of his reading. Daniel's Caesar is no courtier to be made a "Page" by Cleopatra's black arts.

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[207] Compare *Antonius*, act 4 lines 1725-28, quoted in Chapter One.

It may well be argued that this scene dramatizes the scopic regime that Caesar represents in both Pembroke's and Daniel's scripts, and the price this regime exacts from women whose dignity must be publicly sacrificed to it. Considered in this light, Daniel's script sympathetically confirms the fears that Pembroke's Cleopatra expresses. Nevertheless, this is a script that repeatedly legitimizes and caters to the desire to view Cleopatra's body, in contrast with Pembroke's script in which such desire is consistently thwarted. Whereas Pembroke and Daniel both portray defeated queens who accept the necessity of rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's, only Daniel affirms Caesar's right to enjoy the spectacle of the remains of a beautiful woman. And Daniel also extends this right to the members of his audience. In other words, the new regime is one that Daniel himself serves. In this sense, the Alexandria Pembroke imagines has already been conquered before Daniel's play begins.

Pembroke's Cleopatra successfully controls who sees her, and as Christine M. Hill and Mary G. Morrison point out in their discussion of Garnier's *Antoine*, the Chorus is appropriately absent from the stage during the final act of the play (17). This queen controls her space; she is not intruded upon in her seclusion. Nevertheless, she signifies her willingness to die in part through her self-defacement, a self-defacement that also renders the surface of her body disturbingly illegible, as we have seen. By contrast, the action of Daniel's play, picking up more or less where Pembroke's leaves off, delays Cleopatra's suicide for another five acts through an original plot device: Proculaius breaks into the monument and takes Cleopatra by surprise just as she is about to stab herself.[208] As Proculaius reports to Caesar:

> I found the meanes vp to the Tombe to clime.
> Where, in descending in the closest wise,
> And silent manner as I could contriue;
> Her woman me descri'd, and out she cries,
> Poore *Cleopatra*, thou art tane aliue.
> With that the Queene caught from her side her knife,
> And euen in act to stab her martred brest,
> I stept with speede, and held, and sau'd her life,
> And forth her trembling hand the blade did wrest .... (2.1.297-305)

So much for solitude and self-defacement. On her next and final suicide attempt, this Cleopatra prepares a carefully constructed (and not visibly damaged) image for the audience she is counting on to appear. Although Caesar is thereby thwarted, the audience is nevertheless satisfied with the confirmation that Cleopatra is willing to the last to make a spectacle of herself.

This is a spectacle, furthermore, that Daniel's Cleopatra, Charmion and the Nuntio all labour mightily to render unambiguous. Cleopatra gives the task of getting the asps to the Nuntio, that is to the one whose job it is to report events. She also, according to the Nuntio, entrusts him with reporting her express desire that "this shall euermore remembred be, / A rare example to posterity," as well as her expectation that through this act "*Cleopatra* shall / In after ages liue in memory" (5.2.1443-6). By the time the Nuntio has obediently returned with the "Aspickes, in a basket closely pent" (5.2.1464), he finds Cleopatra waiting, looking "brighter then the Sunne, / Glittering in all her pompeous rich aray" (5.2.1473-74). She and her companions are equally anxious to achieve just the right image. Most notably, Charmion stays alive just long enough to

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[208] According to Hill and Morrison, Garnier's ambiguous version of events is less historically accurate than Daniel's. Garnier's version (and Pembroke's as well) strongly "suggests but does not make absolutely clear" that "Cléopatre and her ladies, as they say *Or mourons*, take poison, or apply the asps, and actually die a few moments later .... The historians tell us that several weeks elapsed after Antony's death: he was given a magnificent burial, then Cleopatra tried to starve herself to death (a proceeding which requires time); next, she had an interview with Octavian, and some days later was allowed to pay a farewell visit to Antony's tomb before leaving for Rome, and took the opportunity to commit suicide" (16-17). Proculaius's intrusion into Cleopatra's monument, however, is entirely Daniel's invention.

"right" Cleopatra's "Diademe," knocked awry in the queen's last collapse (5.2.1654, 1652), determined above all to

> … adorne the head that must be seene
> To weare a Crowne in death, that life held fast,
> That all the world may know she dide a Queene.
> And as she stood, setting it fitly on,
> Loe, in rush *Caesars* messengers in hast,
> Thinking to haue preuented what was done
> But yet they came too late, for all was past.
> For there they found stretcht on a bed of gold,
> Dead *Cleopatra*; and that proudly dead,
> In all the rich attire procure she could;
> And dying *Charmion* trimming of her head …. (5.2.1660-70)

Whether we read this death scene as comic, pathetic or wonderfully dignified, there is no question that Cleopatra and her companions are committed to providing their anticipated guests with a satisfying spectacle to contemplate.

Although disappointing to Caesar in that it represents the frustration of his hopes for a great triumph with Cleopatra in his train, Cleopatra's carefully planned performance does assure the reader's and viewer's confidence in their ability to read Cleopatra's image aright, and their confidence in the rightness of expecting women to present themselves as images. Among the last lines Daniel's Cleopatra speaks, as reported by the Nuntio, are these:

> And now O earth, the Theater where I
> Haue acted this, witnesse I die vnforst;
> Witnesse my soule parts free to Antony,
> And now prowde tyrant Caesar doe thy worst. (5.2.1623-25)

Here she names Caesar as the ultimate witness, literally in that he is the last named. He is also the new ruler of the earth she apostrophizes, and thus the new owner of "the Theater" wherein she acts. With this speech Cleopatra also affirms the legibility of her dead body by denying the interpretive function of witnessing while affirming its authorizing power: as this actor understands it, her final performance needs to be witnessed for her resistance to be felicitous, and it need only to be witnessed to be understood. Indeed, I read this speech as Daniel's offer of compensation to the viewer who, deprived of the actual sight, may be otherwise tempted to share

Caesar's sense of disappointment. Despite Cleopatra's defiance, she affirms Caesar's desire for the sight of her body on display, and offers to make Caesars of us all.

I am arguing, then, that it is actually Daniel's script and not Pembroke's that works to satisfy and legitimize the viewer's desire for a coherent spectacle, despite the fact that Daniel's Cleopatra dies off stage in the 1594 edition, whereas Pembroke scripts Cleopatra's final moments (though not her actual death) in act 5 of *Antonius*. Partly this difference may be explained in terms of Senecan conventions; Pembroke's queen is still alive at the play's end, whereas Daniel's queen is not, and Senecan convention requires that deaths be kept off stage. But as we have seen, this particular convention was more honoured in the breach than the observance. More significant, I think, is the fact that the Nuntio's speech in *Cleopatra* is also a demonstration of Daniel's skill that recalls the second half of *Delia*: it makes something beautiful out of the remains of an aged and faded former beauty. *Delia* portrays a poet who is confident in his ability to memorialize a beautiful woman's anatomy; *Cleopatra* portrays a woman whom we are to admire, not for her (decayed) beauty or for her (inconsistent) self-determination, but for her commitment to controlling the construction of her image according to conventions that her male viewers understand and approve. However, Daniel's script ends up unintentionally performing how dependent the expert male is on the cooperation of the object viewed, and exposing the very anxieties (about power, about gender, about coherence and integrity) that it is designed to compensate for and mask. In keeping Cleopatra's death scene off stage, in replacing the live actor (who in Daniel's day would have been male) with a carefully crafted description, Daniel also avoids the inescapably gestic performance, the essentially incoherent image, that every death scene is and must be.[209] The body is just so much harder to get a fix on than a crown.

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[209] As Tom Stoppard demonstrates so brilliantly in *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*.

### 3. "Bequeath to death your numbness": releasing Galatea

> There would be no monument without the one who desires, views,
> needs to contain, and reacts to the monumentalized other.
> – Abbe Blum, p. 103
>
> Thy Children thou, mine I poore soule have lost,
> And lost their father, more then them I waile,
> Lost this faire realme; yet me the heavens wrathe
> Into a stone not yet transformed hath. – *Antonius*, 5.1915-18

Between the two former friends and present rivals Antony and Caesar, as Pembroke portrays them, stands the body of Cleopatra. This is literally the case once she lifts Antony into her monument, but each man also understands his own and the other's power in terms of control over her body. The relationship between Leontes and Polixenes in *The Winter's Tale* is similar: the two men in this case occupy the same ground on the friendliest of terms, yet occupation is possession, and possession is, for Leontes at least, figured in terms of the female body. Leontes reads his wife's active welcome to his friend as patent infidelity; Polixenes, not yet apprised of his host's suspicion, nevertheless hits it right when he comments, "The king hath on him such a countenance / As he had lost some province and a region / Loved as he loves himself" (1.2.366-68). When a man like Leontes has lost ground, there is always a woman in the case. And *vice versa*. However, despite his insistence on his infallible ability to read Hermione, Leontes does not obviously model himself after Pygmalion in the ways that we have noted elsewhere. He observes her speech and actions in act 1; he does not appear to study her body itself, and the script does not at any point call for him to take an inventory of her parts in order to dismantle and reassemble her according to his idea, or in order to celebrate his potency as reflected in her. Such blazoning, however, is in this case unnecessary. Hermione is visibly pregnant, close to full term. Leontes need not note what he cannot help but see: the proof that his wife's body is sexual, changeable, and beyond his control. Consequently, Leontes—like Daniel's poet in *Delia*—needs to invent an imaginary version of this woman that he *can* fix—in mind. In this creative act he is highly successful, as Camillo warns Polixenes. No one can "shake / The fabric of his folly, whose foundation / Is iled upon his faith and will continue / The standing of his body" (1.2.426-29). At the end, Leontes must not only suffer the fabric of this particular folly to be shaken to its foundation by the Oracle of Apollo, but must also give up the folly of believing that any body can continue to stand unshaken over time or that in each distinct body may be identified a distinct individual.

Leontes accepts Paulina's invitation to "see the statute of our queen" (5.3.10). This fact suggests that he is motivated by the "impulse to monumentalize" that Blum defines as the impulse "to remember, conjure up, commemorate what is valuable—often by altering, idealizing, idolizing the original proportions of a notable person, action, event" (99). However, because the Hermione he sees has aged "by some sixteen years" (5.3.31), Paulina's statue commemorates what Leontes recognizes as something he has never seen. It alters, but not by idealizing—rather the reverse. This is a kind of failed commemoration, for although Leontes finds far more than he hoped, he does not find the opportunity to idolize Hermione's "original proportions," and Shakespeare suggests that it is his acceptance of this loss that completes Leontes's redemption. Quite simply, he could have been critical, could have complained that the statue were not better done, could even have demanded one more beautiful. He is not fit to be a husband to the woman Hermione will change into in the future if he cannot today cherish the changes she has already undergone.

Evidence that he is ready, according to the internal logic of the play, may be found in the fact that Leontes can now recognize and welcome resemblance without identity, consistency in alteration. In the first half of the play, this is not the case. He is told how much his children, Mamillius and Perdita, look like him, but cannot acknowledge it.[210] Nor can he bear to see that his wife is not identical with herself.[211] And Polixenes is too much the image of Leontes himself; consequently Leontes cannot recognize his faithful wife, himself, or anyone. In every face he reads only deception and betrayal. In act 5, by contrast, Leontes recognizes in Florizel and Perdita the image of his son and daughter as they could have been but—as far as he knows—never were, while at the same time seeing in Florizel his "father's image ..., / His very air" (5.1.126-7). In Hermione, he loves and honours a statue that looks exactly like the aged wife he has never seen, and also exactly like the young bride she was "when first" he "wooed her" (5.3.36). Such doublings elicit from him, this time, wonder and humility, rather than rage.

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[210] See act 1 scene 2, lines 121 ff, and act 2 scene 3, lines 91 ff.

[211] Not only is her pregnant body changed and changing, but it is also two people in one, another kind of doubling.

The central binary of the statue scene is, of course, stone *versus* wavering flesh. Leontes asks whether the stone "Does not rebuke" him "For being more stone than it," and observes his "admiring daughter ... / Standing like stone" at the sight of her mother's statue (5.3. 37-38, 41-42). Yet this inability to distinguish at such a fundamental level causes him no anxiety. Shortly afterwards, Paulina exhorts the statue to "Bequeath to death your numbness, for from him / Dear life redeems you" (5.3.102-03). This is appropriate, because Leontes has already bequeathed to death his own numbness, and chosen the rich ambiguity of "Dear life." For Shakespeare as for Pembroke and Cary, those who cannot accept this are tragic figures, as I discuss in the next chapter. But Leontes no longer requires a marble-perfect wife nor prides himself in his own stony heart. He accepts Paulina's lesson that a distinct and coherent identity is impossible, and that there is nothing more paradoxical than integrity.

It is, then, in the service of a greater satisfaction than a Pygmalion can allow that Paulina uses her inventive powers to deny Leontes the satisfaction of rendering anything certain and permanent. And Shakespeare constructed the scene in order to deny his audience such certainty as well, if we accept John C.Meagher's argument about the original casting. Pointing out that "there is clear textual evidence that Shakespeare wrote doubled roles into his plays," Meagher argues that "Shakespearean dramaturgy, while being embedded in staffing constraints, *takes advantage* of what happens when he has to double roles" (*Shakespeare* 102, 103, original italics). In the case of *The Winter's Tale*, Meagher argues that Leontes's surprising proposal that Paulina marry Camillo at the end "is not so abrupt after all" if we assume "that the same actor played both roles" of Camillo and Antigonus, Paulina's lost husband. If this is indeed the case, then "at another dimension of dramatic illusion, Antigonus has broken his grave and Paulina has recovered her long-lost mate about as surely as Leontes has been reunited with Hermione" (*Pursuing* 221). By her inventive powers, through loyal criticism and faithful deception, Paulina brings Leontes and Hermione back to "Dear life." By his inventive powers, through doubling, Shakespeare "delivered dramatic satisfaction to his audiences" (Meagher, *Pursuing* 222). But to enjoy this satisfaction, we too must give up the satisfaction of being able to identify any body with certainty.

# Chapter Three

## Unsettled States: Flux, Flaws, and Heroic Infallibility

> GREGORY. To move is to stir, and to be valiant is to stand. Therefore,
> if thou art moved, thou runn'st away.
> - William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, 1.1.8-9

### INTRODUCTION: FIXING THE BODY POLITIC

Both Pembroke and Cary set their tragedies in royal palaces, at moments of crisis and transition: moments in which the body politic appears misshapen or unrecognizable. Both portray rulers whose headship is in doubt: men like Antony and Herod who cannot tolerate any suggestion of their own bodies' mutability; men like Caesar and Constabarus who need to keep finding new representations of the body politic's perfect and immutable order. As Robert Weimann argues in his discussion of "authority and representation" in early modern discourse, "early moderns' turning of the world into a picture met an existential need for self-orientation and control vis-à-vis a bewildering rate of change. Representations that addressed this need were not innocent" (1). In their depictions of powerful men, particularly Caesar and Herod, Pembroke and Cary dramatize the ways in which representations could be pressed into the service of this "need for self-orientation and control" by men of rank and ambition in a time of political and social instability. Such spectators' demands for reflections of the viewer's status and power can include the sort of demand we considered in the last chapter, for Galatea is certainly, among many other things, a reflection of Pygmalion's artistic power. But the painted woman is only one form such reflections can take; the ambitious man, in both *Antonius* and *Mariam*, demands other icons of his monumental power and permanence: images in which he may also read the subordinate mortality of his conquests. Not bodies alone, but the buildings and cities they inhabit, are required to reflect his glory. Unlike Antony, neither Octavius Caesar nor Herod wishes to see himself or be seen as a warrior hero; in this they resemble King James I. But as both Pembroke and Cary dramatize, the programmes of self-representation required to perform the authority of such rulers are inherently violent. Caesar's and Herod's methods of rule resemble those of Shakespeare's Claudius: a forced exchange of smiles that is not innocent at all.

Those who suffer from this violence include the women who are required to provide their kings and husbands with images of the men's unchanging greatness, and also the men who demand such unchanging greatness of themselves. Mariam and Salome are expected to perform the stability of the entire state with their bodies and are doomed to failure in this endeavour; Antony expects perfect stability of his own body, and is equally doomed. Cleopatra knows that maintaining her integrity depends on remaining radically unfixed; her body's mutability is for her a source of power. Antony, however, is too committed to his model of martial masculinity to allow himself to celebrate his own mutability. Whereas Shakespeare's Mark Antony recognizes and welcomes the fullness of multiplicity, Pembroke's Antony fears all sign of flux in himself.[212] He treats mortality, sexuality, and change in general as enemies to defeat rather than precisely that to which the ever-wavering flesh is heir. And Mariam, at least at the outset of Cary's tragedy, resembles Pembroke's Antony in this fear of the unsettled state; she shares with him the belief that one should be able to resist unsteadiness in oneself. Whereas Salome revels in slipping the leash, Mariam discovers a "variety" in her feelings and wishes that frightens her at least as much as it frightens the Chorus. By the end of the play, however, she has begun to realize some of the advantages in mutability.

As a man, a general, and a Roman triumvir, Antony believes he must demonstrate total control over himself and the world, both political and natural. As a chaste and virtuous wife, Mariam believes she must be consistently perfect and perfectly consistent. As Pembroke and Cary suggest, both imperatives are impossible. For both Antony and Mariam, the courageous determination to stand firm, and the belief that they ought to be able to remain solely singular, is, in my view, their tragic flaw.

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[212] For the purposes of distinguishing between Pembroke's and Shakespeare's character, I refer to Pembroke's as Antony and Shakespeare's as Mark Antony throughout this chapter.

## A: "TO … DEEM HIM DEIFIED": MASCULINITY AND THE PERFORMANCE OF POSSESSION

> Neither can anything in his government succeed well with him (devise and labour as he list), as coming from a filthy spring, if his person be unsanctified; for as that royal prophet saith, "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the keepers watch it in vain" …. Therefore, my son, first of all things learn to know and love that God to whom ye have a double obligation: first, for that he made you a man; and next, for that he made you a little god to sit on his throne and rule over other men.
>
> – James I, *Basilikon Doron*, Book One, p. 103

In my examination of early modern representations of women in the previous chapter I considered the demand a man makes on a woman to imitate a statue as constituting, among other things, a demand that she guarantee the longevity of the viewer's artistic powers. In this section of the present chapter I consider such images as examples of a larger class of images that were essential to the early modern performance of political power and of masculinity at the turn of the seventeenth century in England. I read *Antonius* and *Mariam* in the context of early modern drama's examination of the strategies employed by rulers whose claim to power is of recent date or otherwise unsure. And I argue that Pembroke and Cary represent male authorities (primarily heads of state but also heads of families) in much the same way that Shakespeare represents Claudius in *Hamlet* and that James I may be considered to have represented himself: as men who know the need for their power to be iteratively performed and witnessed, who constantly require reflections of their power, and who understand such reflections to guarantee their own physical stability and the stability of the entire state both at once. Expressions of loving approval (especially smiling faces) are just one example of the reflections required, which may also include such images of the men themselves as portraits, statues, buildings, or captives, any one of which may be constructed to reflect the ruler's institution of order and longevity.

James I opens the second book of *Basilikon Doron* (1598) by articulating his concern to establish definitively "the true difference betwixt a lawful, good king and an usurping tyrant" (113). As one who was himself poised uneasily between intruding foreigner and legitimate heir, as one further who argued for absolute monarchy in an intellectual climate of skepticism and debate, establishing himself as truly different from "an usurping tyrant" was for James a never-ending endeavour. Since James's position as "lawful, good king" of a united kingdom was never entirely stable, he needed to construct his programme of self-representation on a firm foundation, and accordingly James modelled himself after Caesar Augustus: the first Roman *imperator*, a favourite early modern example of administrative talent, and a great builder. As Howarth notes:

> James I was intensely proud of his achievement as a builder. His most wide-ranging proclamation about what was desirable in architecture was issued in July 1618 to coincide with the launch of the Jacobean Commission on New Buildings, of which [Inigo] Jones was to become the keystone. That proclamation drew a parallel between King James of Great Britain and the Emperor Augustus. With typical vanity James conceived of himself as a second Augustus, for just as Augustus had found Rome of brick but transformed it into marble, so James claimed that he had found London of sticks and was encouraging his subjects to build in brick. (33)[213]

James's philosophy of architecture and of kingship is also expressed in the Latin inscription intended to be chiselled into the marble walls of the new Banqueting House, which Jones designed after James's first banqueting house burnt down in 1619, and which again "takes up the Augustan parallel, echoing Suetonius' life of Augustus (Howarth 34).[214] In such a work of art as the Banqueting House James saw, and expected others to see, something that "speaks most magnificently of the soul of its Lord," as the inscription asserts (quoted in note 215).

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[213] The proclamation of July 1618 was only one of "A whole series of proclamations on building" that shows James's "close personal involvement both in the sentiments they express, the philosophy they declare and the ambitions they set out" (Howarth 33).

[214] Howarth's "literal though certainly not poetical translation of the Latin" I here quote in full:

> The genius of the place, to the observer-guest.
> This [building], which strikes the eye by its majesty and
> speaks most magnificently of the soul of its Lord,
> razed when scarcely previously made of brick, but now the
> equal of any Marble building throughout Europe,
> JAMES, first monarch of Great Britain, built up from the
> ground; intended for festive occasions, for formal spectacles,
> and for the ceremonials
> of the British court; to the eternal glory of his/its name and
> of his/its most peaceful empire, he left it for posterity.
> In the year 1621. (34)

Howarth makes a strong argument for reconsidering James's reputation for lack of interest in the arts, pointing out for instance that this inscription "and his constant and close interest in supporting the work of his Building Commission should be taken as a sign of his awareness of what marble and painting could do for the image of a monarch" (34). What I would add to Howarth's argument, however, is that for James marble could—at least as much as painting—*constitute* the image of a monarch, and a particularly masculine one at that. Like Inigo Jones, James believed in the possibility of an architecture that is "sollid, proporsionable according to the rulles, masculine and unaffected" (Jones, qtd in Lubbock 164), and like Jones he identified that masculine style with "classical architecture … in its truest and purest Roman form" (Howarth 33). A review of the early modern debate regarding what constituted masculine or feminine architectural styles is beyond the scope of this project and need not detain us; my current interest is less in the style that James (and Jones) chose to build in than in James's association of Roman-style building and building in general with a masculinized power.[215] It is also interesting to note the tenacity of this association into the twentieth century, including in Howarth's own thought.[216] One of the chief reasons he cites for dismissing Elizabeth's reign as being, artistically, a "period of contraction" is that, unlike her father Henry VIII and her successor James I, "Elizabeth built very little: content to remain a cuckoo in the nest and dependent on the hospitality of others. She built no new royal residences; she conducted her progresses on the basis of eating her courtiers out of house and home; her painters owed rather more to the past than to their European contemporaries" (6). Howarth's reasoning begins with the observation that Elizabeth did not build, and moves from there to the conclusion that her reign was in all things a travesty of progress.

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[215] See Helen Hills's introduction to *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern England.* See also Christy Anderson's discussion of the ways in which classical architecture "gave a public and physical form to a changing ideal of masculinity" in her article, "A Gravity in Public Places: Inigo Jones and Classical Architecture," in *Gender and Architecture*, ed. Louise Durning and Richard Wrigley (25).

[216] See also *The Dynamics of Architectural Form* by Rudolf Arnheim (1977). Arnheim begins his first chapter by invoking Plato's definition of "space as 'the mother and receptacle of all created and visible and in any way sensible things'" (9); that he accepts Plato's gendering of space and, by implication, of "created … things" is strongly suggested by the language with which he discusses the central concept of "Penetration" later in the same chapter (41).

A central theme of this project, of course, is that I disagree with that particular conclusion. Nevertheless, I do consider there to be good grounds for Howarth's assertion that significant links exist between royal programmes of building and of portraiture in the Henrician, Elizabethan, and Jacobean eras, even though I do not agree with him on the nature of those links. The issue, in my view, is not one of progress, but one of differing early modern constructions of gender. Howarth himself assumes a close connection between the erection of buildings and masculine vigour: "Henry VIII was the most energetic of all English royal builders though from his accession in 1509 until the late 1520s he was rather more preoccupied with violent competitive gymnastics than with palace building" (11). The implication here, I would suggest, is that the latter stands in for the former, in Howarth's mind certainly, and probably in Henry VIII's as well.

But for James, unlike his Tudor forerunner, building was the originary supplement: his marble Banqueting House both obviates and points to his need as ruler for such a sign of power as Henry's Field of the Cloth of Gold. The Banqueting House was certainly important to James's programme of self-representation. In the interior, reports Howarth, "the wall behind the throne, as the visitor looks down the hall from the entrance, [probably] originally contained a smaller window above and a niche below. The niche had been put there to locate the interior within what Renaissance theorists defined as the *basilica*." Consequently, James was "triple framed as he sat in the Banqueting House performing the sacred rites of a priest king. He was framed by his throne, and by the canopy of state vaulting over his head, and behind that, by the niche or exedra in the masonry of the wall behind" (35). Not just a priest king but a god-king too, James's sacred self was represented in the Banqueting House as transcending the limits of mortality. For on the central portion of the ceiling, as part of a programme carried out by Charles I but initiated during James's lifetime, Rubens painted *The Apotheosis of James I*, inviting "those who had been James's earth-bound subjects … to witness James's joining the Gods in their immortal sphere" (Howarth 124). In none of Rubens's three paintings for the ceiling is James depicted wearing armour. It is his immunity to the ravages of time, rather than to the assaults of enemies, that James wished explicitly to convey.

The building itself, I would add, was likewise intended to represent James's power as timeless and enduring. This complex relationship between building and body is conveyed in the portrait of James painted *circa* 1619 by Paul van Somer—the same artist who painted the portrait of a domesticated Elizabeth Cary discussed in my first chapter (Figure 19). Howarth's description is worth quoting at length:

> It is quaint and yet curiously impressive. James shows off his robes like a model on a cat walk, while the regalia is displayed in front of the new Banqueting House. The artist has recorded the mortice joints on the stonework with as much care as he has noticed the line of the sitter's mouth. … sitter and his building are both portraits. In fact the actual appearance of the building would seem to have been different and this discrepancy may be accounted for by the suggestion that the van Somer was painted in 1619 to commemorate the inception of the Banqueting House; before, that is to say, Jones' drawings were predictably modified by the masons on the scaffold. (125)

Approaching this portrait from a close study of Elizabethan portraits, however, we may conclude that it is more than a double portrait of the "sitter and his building." It is, just as much as the "Ditchley" portrait is, a single portrait of the ruler's two bodies: physical and political. Van Somer's Banqueting House *is* James, just as surely as Christopher Saxton's map of England in the *Ditchley* portrait *is* Elizabeth. Yet what a contrast is the three-dimensional Banqueting House directly behind James to that schematic map Gheeraerts placed under Elizabeth's feet. In the latter work, as we have seen, Elizabeth is everywhere and nowhere; she is radically unfixed in space; in van Somer's portrait, James is clearly fixed in a particular, albeit fictional, space. These important differences must not be dismissed as the consequence primarily of a change in artistic taste. Rather than establish James's right to public mobility, which for the early modern man is a given, such images as van Somers's portrait serve to represent the solidity of his body as well as the stability of his rule. They construct James as the epitome of masculine strength as well as embodiment of order and permanence: the husband and father of the nation, the *homo faber* of Roman architectural glory, and the preserver of *pax Romana*.

Such a programme of representation was particularly useful for an early modern king, for several reasons. For one thing, by the turn of the seventeenth century, the nature of warfare had changed so much that it was seldom any longer the case that "the role of the king in battle authenticated his ability to both fight and command" (Leo Braudy 99).[217] James the peace-maker, furthermore, was committed to avoiding warfare as much as possible. As a consequence of these cultural and individual trends away from overtly militaristic masculinity, we find, as many art historians and cultural historians have noted, that male Jacobean courtiers tend to have themselves painted, not in armour, but either in fashionable velvet, lace, and jewels, or (especially in the years before Prince Henry's death) in Roman togas.[218] Either kind of garb signifies political and cultural power rather than individual military prowess, and courtiers dressed Roman-style made themselves into images of James's ideal self and ideal government. As the "little god" whose divinity was imaged everywhere after the manner of Augustus, James thus elided the difference between foreign intruder and legitimate inheritor of undisputed territories.[219]

Both Pembroke and Cary, by contrast, interrogate this difference in order to dramatize how little divides the two kinds of male rulers, deconstructing the binary that James is so anxious to affirm, both in his writing about kingship (composed during the reign of Elizabeth) and in his building. Both women dramatists depict unstable political regimes headed by absolute rulers; in her portrayal of Caesar, Pembroke focuses on the violence accompanying a change in regime, the destruction that precedes construction; Cary dramatizes the continuing violence required to underpin absolute rule. Pembroke chooses to portray the young Octavius, still on his military march towards the identity of Augustus, which he has not yet constructed; Cary chooses to portray a Herod whose authority is at once radically unstable and terrifyingly absolute; both Pembroke's Caesar and Cary's Herod have more in common with Marlowe's Tamburlaine than with Suetonius's great administrator. But Pembroke's Caesar and Cary's Herod resemble James and his model, the older Augustus, insofar as they are occupied with surrounding themselves with images that construct them, not as conquerors, not as *arrivistes* or as temporary holders of power dependent on fickle fortune's sway, but as lawful rulers absolutely entitled to a permanent position of power by virtue of an essential superiority no more recent in its bestowal than temporary in its enjoyment. Whereas Tamburlaine revels in his power to make and unmake rulers and ruled, such men as Caesar and Herod fear evidence of impermanence, which they interpret as a threat and a reminder that history, and mortality, tell a different story about the inevitability or unassailability of their positions.[220] But they are no different from Tamburlaine in the ruthlessness of their demands that both the towns they conquer and the human bodies they rule repeatedly reflect and bear witness to their power. Thus, although Ferguson makes an important point when she observes that "In *Antonius* and the "Dialogue [in Praise of Astrea]," Pembroke "focuses critical attention on the ruler's temptation to become an 'idol' in his or her own eyes as well as in those of some of his gullible subjects," I would argue that according to Pembroke Caesar's drive to "become an 'idol' is not so much a "temptation" as it is a determination—an absolute necessity ("Sidney, Cary, Wroth" 485). All such images reflect the ruler's marble masculinity while denying the violence by which his reign may have been founded and by which his continued authority is certainly sustained. Both Pembroke's and Cary's play exemplify the trend in sixteenth-century drama that Rebecca W. Bushnell describes as follows: "The morality prince's fragmentation into a tyrant gives way to the tyrant's self-shaping of a princelike image opposed to a tyrannical Other—who ends up being himself" (115).

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[217] Braudy elaborates: "Henry [VIII] had a more congenial relation to tournaments and military ceremonials than to actual warfare. … But Henry was not all show, or at least his show needed the test of actual battle for authentication. … [He] personally led three military expeditions into Flanders and France, much as Francis I headed a cavalry charge at the Battle of Pavia in 1525, where he was wounded and captured by the forces of Charles V. … But through the long reign of Henry's daughter Elizabeth and the Stuarts after her, the English monarch wielded a scepter more often than a lance" (99).

[218] Pembroke's sons William and Philip are believed to be the subject of two matching portraits by Marcus Gheeraert, Jr., *c.* 1610, of young men in classical dress (see Hearn 26-27).

[219] Another similarity between James and Augustus is that both were adopted heirs in one sense or another.

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[220] They are on top of the great chain of being, and this is a chain that must not be seen as being subject to dismantling or reorganization. Or rather, they are the head of the body; every body is the image of their headship of the body of the state.

By my comments on the violence required to underpin James I's rule I do not mean in any way to imply that he was more violent or less humane than his predecessor. What I do mean is to consider his deployment of early modern analogical thought in support of "an absolutism more imagined than real" (Fischlin and Fortier 14) that is specifically associated with masculinity. Two analogies that James relied on involved bodies and buildings. Absolute monarchy in general was "natural because the relationship between a king and his people replicated the relationship between a husband and his wife, which in turn replicated the relationship between Christ and the Church, which then replicated the anatomical relationship between the head and the body": what Sid Ray refers to as a "dubious and convoluted" theory (134).[221] Furthermore, James's rule of England, in particular, was legitimate because his relationship to the city of London as builder replicated that of Augustus Caesar to Rome: an equally dubious notion.[222] As Jonathan Dollimore and, following him, Lena Cowen Orlin have argued compellingly, "'the Elizabethan world view' did not represent popular consensus about the nature of authority in the period. These doctrines would not have been endlessly repeated in sermons and homilies had they been as thoroughly naturalized as they liked to pretend; strategic and persistent reinforcement was necessary" (Orlin 374).[223] This reinforcement occurred not only in sermons and homilies, but in portraits, statues, statutes, and buildings.

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[221] James's own anxiety is evident in his speech of 1603-04 in defense of the union of Scotland and England: "I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd,and it is my flocke: I hope therefore no man will be so vnreasonable as to thinke that I that am a Christian King vnder the Gospel, should be a Polygamist and husband to two wiues; that I being the Head, should haue a diuided and monstrous Body ..." (*Political* 272).

[222] As Anthony DiMatteo argues, "Assuaging or denying humbling fears of sovereign decay provided early-modern princes and popes ample reason for representing themselves, their nation or their own power as somehow a providential scion of ancient Rome or a true derivative of some other ancient heroic or religious figure or community" (2.20).

The Banqueting House depicted by van Somer, though designed to look ancient and ageless, must be built on the ruins of what was previously there; it must be built by the labour of subject bodies; furthermore, rather than standing firm from time immemorial, its perfect completeness, like that of its owner, is infinitely deferred. In van Somers's detailed rendering of a building that did not exist at the time of painting, and that never did come to exist in quite the form he gives to it, the 1619 portrait of James I exposes the very instability and impermanence it was designed to deny. It is such fictions of kingship and the impossible demands they make on those pressed into their service that both Pembroke and Cary concern themselves with in their dramatic works, for both authors portray how degrading these demands can be, whether what is required are reflections of the viewer's physical and military strength, or reflections of its unquestioned legitimacy.

## 1. "Equal to Jove": the demands of divinity

> CLAUDIUS. This gentle and unforc'd accord …
> Sits smiling to my heart. – William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 1.2.123-24

Much early modern drama explores the ruler's treatment of his subjects, both conquered and domestic, and through this exploration interrogates the models of rule and of masculinity that necessitate such treatment. *Measure for Measure* and *Romeo and Juliet*, for instance, each features a ruler confronting the consequences of his long-time policy of leniency, yet challenges the propriety of ruthless enforcement by either political or parental authority.[224] One who does not himself challenge the propriety of ruthlessness is Marlowe's Tamburlaine, who boasts that he "hold[s] the Fates bound fast in iron chains" (*Tam. I* 1.2.174). No ruler portrayed in early modern drama could be more interested in establishing absolute dominion than he, and he moves like a juggernaut across a carefully mapped-out landscape, entering and possessing one new territory after another. Tamburlaine is also memorable for practising the ritual degradation of his conquered subjects, and their capitals, requiring that buildings be transformed to reflect their new ownership, while making defeated kings and queens into caged specimens and human footstools.[225] All must be brought low except his own head and reflections of his headship. Techelles's first speech demonstrates the understanding of this imperative that has earned him a place of trust at Tamburlaine's side: "Methinks I see kings kneeling at his feet, / And he with frowning brows and fiery looks / Spurning their crowns from off their captive heads" (*Tam I* 1.2.55-57).

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[223] Orlin draws here on what she rightly refers to as Dollimore's "pioneering materialist work" in his 1984 book, *Radical Tragedy* (374). I refer the reader in particular to Dollimore's chapter "The Disintegration of Providentialist Belief" in that work.

[224] As Fischlin and Fortier point out, *Measure for Measure* was "written in conjunction with James's coming to the throne of England." There, Shakespeare deals with the very problem outlined by James" in the *Basilikon Doron* (116 n. 21). James advises his son, "And when ye have by the severity of justice once settled your countries and made them know that ye can strike, then may ye thereafter all the days of your life mix justice with mercy .... For if otherwise ye kithe your clemency at the first, the offences would soon

Shakespeare's smiling villain Claudius, by contrast, attains his throne by stealth rather than by the public exercise of military force; nevertheless he, like Tamburlaine, demands that his subjects perform their acceptance (that is, their submission) of his authority. Like Tamburlaine, as well, Claudius flaunts his possession of his new country's erstwhile queen. What Claudius demands of his subjects, primarily, is that they perform their approval of his rule; this demand is but thinly veiled in his first monologue, in which he reminds his courtiers of their complicity in his questionably hasty marriage:

> Therefore our sometime sister, now our queen,
> Th'imperial jointress to this warlike state,
> Have we, as 'twere with a defeated joy,
> With an auspicious and a dropping eye,

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come to such heaps and the contempt of you grow so great that when ye would fall to punish, the number of them to be punished would exceed the innocent, and ye would be troubled to resolve whom at to begin .... But in this my over-dear bought experience may serve you for a sufficient lesson. For I confess, where I thought by being gracious at the beginning to win all men's hearts to a loving and willing obedience, I by the contrary found the disorder of the country and the loss of my thanks to be all my reward" (Bk. 2, p. 116). David L. Stevenson provides a detailed discussion of numerous other features of *Measure for Measure* that evidence Shakespeare's deliberate choice to model Duke Vincentio after James.

[225] See his treatment of Bajazeth and Zabina in *Tamburlaine I*, act 4 scene 2.

> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Taken to wife. Nor have we herein barred
> Your better wisdoms, which have freely gone
> With this affair along. For all, our thanks. (1.2.8-11, 14-16)

Having determined that the members of his court (if not the heavens) smile upon this unholy act, and having made clear his expectation that they will continue to do so, Claudius is then able to turn his attention to all those who yet neglect his tribute—first Fortinbras, then Hamlet, and then, in act 3, England. Fortinbras's attack, Hamlet's solemn (or sullen) silence, England's failure to pay up: all these are, to Claudius, unacceptable suggestions that his "state" is "disjoint and out of frame" (1.2.19). Those who will agree to do as Gertrude requests of Hamlet, that is, to "let thine eye look like a friend on Denmark" (1.2.69), are safe: this Claudius makes clear. However, those like Fortinbras and Hamlet who will not "cast" their "nighted colour off" and perform the "gentle and unforced accord" that "Sits smiling to" Claudius's "heart" must—as we are here led to suspect and soon learn beyond doubt—be punished (1.2.68, 123, 124). Claudius's need for reflections of his power is not qualitatively different from Tamburlaine's.

Nor is either ruler very different from Pembroke's Caesar; *Antonius* exposes the violence that underpins the civil exchange of smiles between ruler and ruled much as *Hamlet* does.[226] At the moment of his entry into Alexandria, Octavius reflects on his god-like endurance—proven by the images that reflect this back to him—as he glories in the scenes his imagination bodies forth. He imagines himself

> Equall to Jove: bestowing by my worde
> Happes and mishappes, as Fortunes King and Lord.
> No Towne there is, but up my Image settes,
> But sacrifice to me doth dayly make .... (4.1380-83)

The people of Alexandria have not yet had time, we may assume, to get to work setting up any new images, but Agrippa knows that, like the members of Claudius's court, part of his job is to hold the required mirror up to his audience and boss. So Agrippa, no doubt smiling the while, supplements the absent statues by reading the very buildings the Romans pass by (which, like statues, are not of flesh but of stone) as reflections of Cæsar's affinity with the gods. He assures his leader:

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[226] Extensive research into the influence of Pembroke's *Antonius* on Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* has demonstrated conclusively that the author of *Hamlet* was familiar with Pembroke's dramatic text (see Spevack 477).

> Surely the Gods, who have this Cittie built
> Stedfast to stand as long as time endures
> And care will take of those shall after come,
> Have made you victor, that you might redresse
> Their honor growne by passed mischieves less. (4.1476-80)

Cæsar's honour and the gods' honour, on these terms, are one; his permanence and that of the gods and their "Cittie" are, by metonymic association, also one. Cæsar's authority is quite literally a reflection of the gods', as Agrippa explains a few lines later, in an explicit affirmation of "the Elizabethan world view":

> Mete it was
> The *Romain* Empire so should ruled be,
> As heaven is rul'd: which turning over us,
> All under things by his example turns.
> Now as of heav'n one onely Lord we know:
> One onely Lord should rule this earth below. (4.1501b-06)

Agrippa knows that Cæsar wants everyone he looks at to be a reflection of his power and permanence, an affirmation of his place in the great chain. This place, Agrippa here assures him, is god-like and god-ordained. And we may note that *La Dama Fortuna* is not a member of the Roman Pantheon Agrippa invokes.[227] Although Cæsar and Agrippa know themselves to be in the vanguard of change, they agree to read their recent history as a process of perfection, instead of evidence of a flux to which they in fact continue to be subject.

Despite its orthodoxy, this speech of Agrippa's could be quite ironic for an audience acquainted with the history of Augustus's complicated and bloody succession, an audience (such as the one Pembroke writes for) of people who well know that the Roman Empire did not last, that the historical Cæsar occupied no still point in this ever-turning world.[228] As Anthony DiMatteo points out, "The triple course of Rome's long development over the centuries, from monarchy and republic to imperial empire and decay in what Petrarch called the 'dark ages,' alternately tantalized and haunted the dynastic ambitions of the crowned kings of Europe who, by the late sixteenth century, styled themselves after Augustus as absolved from law, *soluti legibus* and thus 'absolute'" (2.20). Despite the strong hold Augustus held on European imaginations as a masculine ideal, then, we cannot assume Pembroke's readers to have agreed with Agrippa that this change in regime only serves to "redresse … passed mischieves" against divine will and ensure stability to "those shall after come." But ongoing instability must be denied at this moment of conquest, and so, while he waits for his statues to be raised in this place of his latest conquest, Cæsar determines to mark his rule with murders:

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[227] Whereas his reference to "one onely Lord" ruling heaven is not entirely incompatible with his earlier reference to a plurality of "gods," since we may take Agrippa to be referring to Zeus as heaven's Lord, the discourse in lines 1501-06 is recognizable as a Renaissance, not Roman, orthodoxy.

> Then to the ende none, while my daies endure,
> Seeking to raise himselfe may succours finde,
> For just example to all memorie.
> Murther we must, untill not one we leave,
> Which may hereafter us of rest bereave. (4.1511-16)

To Cæsar, such deaths simultaneously prove, and produce, his rule's endurance. They are essential to the performance of his possession of Alexandria, and so they must be public spectacles, a point he makes clear when he begins to plan his display of captive Cleopatra in his conqueror's train. His power is not complete unless proven on another's body, and, the more power invested in that body, the more satisfying the triumph, to Cæsar as to Tamburlaine.[229] This is how he will "redresse" the conquered Egyptians' "honor": by allowing them, in Foucault's terms, to participate in "the ceremonies by which power is manifested" (*Discipline* 48), including the public execution, a ritual designed "to make everyone aware, through the body of the criminal, of the unrestrained presence of the sovereign" (*Discipline* 49).[230]

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[228] The political system Augustus perfected to sustain his own rule left Rome highly vulnerable to instability after his death, a vulnerability which Augustus tried to minimize through elaborate strategies designed to ensure his succession. These strategies were dependent on the compliance of a woman, in this case his daughter, Julia. He married her off to three successive heirs (including Agrippa), all of whom predeceased Augustus, and then banished Julia after she began to choose her own bedmates (Fagan).

[229] Caesar's philosophy would have been recognized by many early modern readers—though by no means all—as eminently practical. Compare James I's advice to his son in *Basilikon Doron* quoted in note 225 above. The point I wish to stress is not that Pembroke characterizes him as unusually monstrous, but rather that she subtly examines some of the assumptions and implications behind his practical philosophy.

Making a nation into a sign of its ruler's power imposes structures and strictures on geographical territories and human bodies, as Cary and Pembroke both recognize. It is not a benign process, even when done in the name of civilization, or in the name of love. When Herod arrives home in Jerusalem, he also insists on being able to read the city's buildings and inhabitants alike as reflections of his triumphant happiness. In particular, Herod expects Mariam to do for him what Pembroke's Caesar expects the buildings and the queen of Alexandria to do for him: make him as happy as his city. The way in which she is to do this only at first appears different from that which Caesar has planned for Cleopatra. Here Herod makes no demand of Mariam other than that she appear:

> Hail happy city! Happy in thy store,
> And happy that thy buildings such we see;
> More happy in the temple where w'adore,
> But most of all that Mariam lives in thee.
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Oh haste thy steps rare creature, speed thy pace,
> And let thy presence make the day more bright,
> And cheer the heart of Herod with thy face. (4.1.1-4, 10-12)

To be able to lay his eyes on her beautiful face is, he would have us, her, and himself believe, all his happiness requires. Nevertheless, it soon becomes clear that Mariam's beauty must be *his* just as much as Cleopatra's must be Caesar's. As we saw in the previous chapter, Herod remembers Mariam's beauty as resembling a Roman statue; accordingly, he wants her to make him happy in the Augustan manner. For, as we learn upon Mariam's appearance, she must do more than show up—she must love him back. She must set up his Image as great—in the sense of greatly beloved and greatly approved—so that he may read it in her eyes. When Herod speaks of the time he longs for, "When in her face mine eye for wonders seek," it may well be that the wonder he seeks most to see in her face is himself as she sees him (4.1.20). So that all may be perfectly ordered, Mariam must memorialize no one else but him.

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[230] I should like to acknowledge that I am here applying Foucault's analysis of French culture in what he calls "the classical age" (the seventeenth century) to early modern English representations of events from that other (first) classical age, the height of the Roman Empire. Since part of Foucault's project is to distinguish our own age from that of only a few centuries earlier, nothing he says about the practice of punishment should be assumed to apply to other cultures than the ones he describes. Nevertheless, it is surely no coincidence that his originary example of all this is Caesar, an important figure in both Pembroke's and Cary's play and an important figure in James I's self-construction as well.

And so, like Claudius, this murderous king demands that his somber relation put off her "dusky habits." Like Hamlet, however, Mariam insists on at least making the attempt, in her dress and her expression, to be and seem as she is:

> HEROD. And here she comes indeed! Happily met,
> My best and dearest half. What ails my dear?
> Thou dost the difference certainly forget
> 'Twixt dusky habits and a time so clear.
> MARIAM. My lord, I suit my garment to my mind,
> And there no cheerful colours can I find.
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Your offers to my heart no ease can grant
> Except they could my brother's life restore.
> No, had you wished the wretched Mariam glad,
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> My brother nor my grandsire had not died. (4.3.87-92, 111-13, 116)

Mariam knows what Hamlet's prophetic soul suspects: the king standing before her does so because he killed his rival(s). Like Hamlet, too, she knows that the smile this king demands, in its performance of loving approval, also must erase all facial traces of sorrow or even of memory of the one(s) murdered, whether Hamlet's father, or Mariam's grandfather and brother. That Herod reads Mariam's smile in just this way is clear in the following passage (part of which I have also discussed in the Introduction to this project):

> I will not speak, unless to be believed,
> This froward humour will not do you good:
> It hath too much already Herod grieved,
> To think that you on terms of hate have stood.
> Yet smile my dearest Mariam, do but smile,
> And I will all unkind conceits exile. (4.3.139-44)

Herod like Claudius insists upon being unconditionally loved and believed, and his happiness at Mariam's sight depends on her performing total happiness with him. One way or another, like Claudius, he will ensure that the show of his mastery goes on.

## 2. "Topsy-turvèd quite": inversions of order

Mobility put a heavy burden on identity.
– Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p. 9

The smiles such kings demand, as Hamlet and Mariam both know, participate in the erasure—or at least the reconstruction—of history as much as do the statues that Octavius's conquests put up (or imitate). What they deny is any understanding of "history" as a chronicle of hierarchies turned topsy turvy, of relationships and allegiances made, unmade, and remade. This function of the subaltern smile becomes evident when the context in which it is demanded includes such acts of naming as Claudius's address to the one he terms "our cousin Hamlet, and my son" (1.2.64) or Herod's, "Art thou not Jewry's Queen, and Herod's too?" (4.3.11). Claudius makes public show of naming Hamlet his heir, when Hamlet has arguably a better claim to the throne than Claudius; similarly, in naming Mariam "Jewry's Queen," Herod takes credit for a status that, as Alexandra points out, was already Mariam's by birth.[231] In asking Mariam to forget the dead, then, Herod is also asking her to reconstruct her identity as depending on her relationship to him rather than on her relationship to her grandfather and brother. To smile in such a situation, as Hamlet and Mariam both see it, is to betray not only the dead but also oneself.

Such demands are not unique to crowned rulers, either, as Cary makes clear, for her portrayal of Constabarus and Silleus shows how closely imbricated are the desires for a faithfully feminine wife and an invulnerable masculine self. Equally imbricated are the two desires for woman's body to be well ordered, and for the space in which her body is contained to affirm the political order in which the male viewer knows his (superior) place. As I have shown, both *Antonius* and *Mariam* suggest that the man who needs to see himself as Pygmalion cannot see woman except as either immobile painted perfection (*i.e.* Galatea), proof of his power and entirely in his possession, or mobile painted woman (*i.e.* whore), proof of his own weakness and lack. Both plays also dramatize just how inseparable is the construction of the physical and social space a woman's body inhabits from the construction of her body *per se*, and that of the expert who discovers her. Furthermore, the lack he discovers in himself upon viewing an illegible other may be both physical and philosophical: the body of his knowledge of the proper and predictable order of things at once informs and is informed by his own body's proper and predictable operation, and by the forms of the bodies he encounters.

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[231] "Was Alexander [Mariam's father] not of David's blood? / And was not Mariam Alexander's heir? / What more than right could Herod then bestow[?]" (1.2.145-57).

Both Caesar and Herod are seasoned travelers who have had frequently to confront the risk that their expert models may fail to accommodate that which they discover. Rhonda Lemke Sanford among others (see, for instance, Parker and Sawday) has noted that the New World was "Often figured as a woman to be ravished ... in the literature of travel and exploration" (Sanford 54). But for early modern explorers in the new world, the attractive fantasy of anchoring upon a virgin body waiting to be taken developed along with the fearful fantasy of encountering bodies that one hardly knew what to make of. As Gonzalo reminds his fellow travellers in *The Tempest*, travellers must expect to encounter such social and anatomical oddities as "anthropophagi, and men / Whose heads stood in their breasts" (3.3.46-47). Faced with a body that does not have everything in its right place, as Ray points out, the viewer who understands his own place in the social, physical, and spiritual world according to early modern analogical thought must confront the possibility that "what is natural and normal in early modern European thought is unnatural and abnormal in other parts of the world." Particularly, "men whose heads grow beneath their shoulders make possible an inversion of order in which the man as 'head' can exist beneath or within the woman as 'body' and in which the 'head' of state can exist beneath or within the people as the 'body'" (138). Indeed, on Prospero's isle, erstwhile domain of Sycorax with the monstrous(ly) female body, the Neapolitans discover a place in which the possibility of alternative physical and social structures haunts, sometimes inspires, sometimes terrifies, and generally (especially in Prospero's case) prompts assiduous efforts to suppress female agency:

> Prospero describes Sycorax as 'grown into a hoop' (1.2.259), a line editors have glossed as meaning she was bent with age. In fact, she may have been hunch-backed, a condition

> similar to having a head beneath the shoulders .... Prospero's harping on Sycorax's physical form, though he never saw her, shows how fearful it is to him. (Ray 144)

Prospero's goal is to return the dark continent of human relationships to a sceptred isle in which all heads are exactly where they should be, and his preoccupation with containing female sexuality is reflective of that goal.[232] Similarly, the goal of both Silleus and Constabarus is either to find, or to found, a place of ordered stability in which the contained female body guarantees his own immunity to alteration. Salome, by contrast, imagines finding a brave new world in which the political order is as unfixed as she. Ironically, however, Prospero's project requires the total disruption of social order to begin with, as Charles Mitchell notes:

> Because of the raging storm battering the ship, the social order of its inhabitants becomes inverted. The sovereign and his royal entourage go from will-as-law to helpless cargo .... When the Boatswain orders the party to their cabins and declares, 'What care these roarers for the name of king?' the monarch is effectively silenced for the rest of the scene. (102-03)

Similarly, Silleus and Constabarus, in attempting to carry out their own projects, expose the necessity of disorder.

Cary's Constabarus cannot imagine a new system except in terms of monstrous shapes—not just transgendered but "topsy-turvèd." In a well-known passage he expostulates to Salome:

> Are Hebrew women now transformed to men?
> Why do you not as well our battles fight,
> And wear our armour? Suffer this, and then
> Let all the world be topsy-turvèd quite. (1.6.421-44)

In my first chapter I considered the liberty with which Salome argues with Herod in act 4, but in that case the two agreed on the basic terms of the argument, because they agreed on the shape and signifying powers of the female body. Here, between Salome and Constabarus, there is no such agreement. It is also noteworthy that Salome poses much less political or sexual threat to Herod, to whom she is neither queen nor wife but only sister, than she does to Constabarus, to whom she is at once wife and (as sister of the king) social superior. Constabarus needs Salome to be physically stable because any evidence of changeability in her is a threat to his own, defining, masculine strength. In his opinion, furthermore, the stability of the entire world depends on Salome's compliance with his demands and their country's laws. As Antony does, Constabarus assigns to women responsibility for the loss of stability and its inevitable accompaniment, wide-spread disorder.

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[232] Prospero announces this preoccupation early, when in response to Miranda's question, "Sir, are not you my father?" he replies, "Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and / She said thou wast my daughter" (1.2.55b-57a). He returns to the topic when he threatens Ferdinand with "barren hate, / Sour-eyed disdain, and discord" should he dare to "break her [Miranda's] virgin-knot before / All sanctimonious ceremonies may / With full and holy rite be minist'red" (4.1.19-20, 15-17). Prospero's plans depend upon the proper disposition of Miranda's body, as Ray points out: "Instead of hailing her [Miranda's] power and grooming her for authority, Prospero reinforces her destiny to be a body with her husband as head, most notably when he has the Roman goddesses Juno and Ceres appear at her wedding masque. Together, these goddesses associated with marriage and fertility emphasize Prospero's wish for Miranda to be a *producer* of heirs rather than *his* heir. ... Dispossession being a central theme of the play, it is important to remember that Miranda, like Prospero and Caliban, is dispossessed of her authoritative position" (144).

However, the status he wishes to demonstrate and preserve is, as the following oath suggests, an unattainable, inhuman stability:

> Now by the stately carvèd edifice
> That on Mount Sion makes so fair a show,
> And by the altar fit for sacrifice,
> I love thee more than thou thyself dost know. (1.6.383-86)

The "stately … edifice / … on Mount Sion" that Constabarus swears by is, of course, Jerusalem's temple, central to both Jewish culture and Jewish history. Here, then, Constabarus identifies himself with his ideal: the holy building that never changes. He swears by it, but with his oath also places himself "by" it, appropriating its holy permanence metonymically, as James does with the Banqueting House in van Somer's portrait. Yet the building Constabarus identifies is one that requires sacrifice. At the heart of his oath, furthermore, is the word "altar," which names both the site of the sacrifice and the reason for its need. "Altar" is a homonym for that which Constabarus fears the most: the human tendency to "alter." To him, the trend towards alterity must be prevented by sacrifice, and sacrifice both proves and ensures the altar's enduring fitness for its role.

Shakespeare's Gonzalo also acknowledges the violence required to sustain a stable political system. Here the same man who invites his compatriates to imagine anthropophagi also indulges himself in imagining an unconventional (and, as his shipmates point out, impossible) government with himself as the unelevated head:

> GONZALO. Had I plantation of this isle, my lord—
> ANTONIO. He'd sow't with nettle seed.
> SEBASTIAN. Or docks, or mallows.
> GONZALO. And were the king on't, what would I do?
> SEBASTIAN. Scape being drunk for want of wine.
> GONZALO. I'th'commonwealth I would by contraries
> Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
> Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
> Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
> And use of service, none; contract, succession,
> Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
> No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
> No occupation; all men idle, all;
> And women too, but innocent and pure;
> No sovereignty.
> SEBASTIAN. Yet he would be king on't.
> ANTONIO. The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning. (2.1.139-54)

The manifold inconsistencies of Gonzalo's plan transform his fantasy of independence into a self-mocking insistence on the necessity of "service," "succession," and especially "sovereignty."[233]

On this reading, Gonzalo serves much the same function that Paul Brown says is served by the unholy trinity of Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano:

> The assembled aristocrats in the play, and perhaps in the original courtly audiences, come to recognise in these figures their own common identity—and the necessity for a solidarity among the ruling class in face of such a threat. This solidarity must take priority over any internecine struggles; the masterless therefore function to bind the rulers together in hegemony. (53)

Sebastian, Antonio, and to at least some extent the distracted Alonso similarly band together in solidarity—albeit briefly—against Gonzalo's dangerous nonsense. But this old counsellor is more than a quasi-court jester, and there is more to this scene than establishing his spiritual kinship with Trinculo. Gonzalo is also the man who out of all those currently on the island has with his life provided the best if not the only model of obedient service with integrity. After all, he managed to keep his job under Alonso when the king of Naples aided and abetted the usurping

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[233] All of it aimed, in my view, at arousing his emotionally absent sovereign Alonso, even while acknowledging that "Alonso's power is not given in this setting where heads can grow beneath shoulders" (Ray 145).

Antonio, while yet saving the life of Alonso's victim Prospero. Unlike Flamineo in Webster's *White Devil*, this courtier's service has not cost him either his living or his soul—proof, perhaps, that absolutism can be good for its subjects even with a bad king, as James I argues in *The True Law of Free Monarchies*. In any case it is the best proof that *The Tempest* offers. Yet the detailed inventory of things Gonzalo would do away with and the pleasure with which he imagines his contrarious commonwealth strongly suggest that not even he is fully sold on the well-ordered life of "service" to a sovereign. He is certainly aware of what is required to maintain it: "Treason, felony, / Sword, pike, knife, gun" (2.1.156b-57). Furthermore, Gonzalo is no more sold on the hierarchy of gender than he is on kingship; his "No sovereignty" clearly refers to that of men over women as much as that of king over men. Partly this skepticism is the inevitable consequence of his critiquing a model that purports to assign both women and men to precisely defined places; partly, too, I believe, this questioning of masculine sovereignty reflects Gonzalo's own effeminized status.[234] Certainly his speech helps to develop the play's theme "that, despite early modern beliefs about the unnaturalness of woman rulers, queenship could arise organically in the known world" (Ray 34).

While Cary's Salome does not explicitly seek queenship, she does not refuse it. She does refuse to subscribe to her husband's idea of the natural order, or to support his efforts to believe in any single, unchanging order. She uses the same discourse of building as he, but she does so in order to emphasize the impermanence characteristic of Constabarus's own life, and to claim responsibility for his present elevated status: "Did I for this *uprear* thy low estate?" Salome demands. "This hand of mine hath lifted up thy head, / Which many a day ago had *fal'n* full low" (1.6.397, 401-02, emphasis added). Walls, like men, can be raised up and can fall, and so in reminding us that Constabarus was not always as powerful as he is today Salome indirectly reminds us that even the temple, built, fallen, and rebuilt, has not always stood as today it stands.[235] Her challenging response provokes Constabarus to admit and deny the changeability of his nature simultaneously: "You have my patience often exercis'd," he accuses her. But, he adds, "Use makes my choler keep within the banks" (1.6.405-06). In acknowledging his all-too-human temper Constabarus makes Salome responsible for it, while crediting himself with its management. That essential fluid choler, in his view, is like floodwater associated with devastation and chaos; any change he does not feel in control of, whether emotional or climatic, threatens to make his world "topsy-turvèd quite" (1.6.424). And it is caused by women—it has nothing to do with his essential, masculine, nature. This is why he copes with it no better than Antony copes with his queen of the Nile.

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[234] A confessedly subjective and biased interpretation that has been powerfully and perhaps unduly influenced by my own experience of playing the role of "Gonzala" in a recent production of *The Tempest* (which also featured an "Antonia"). I was amazed at how much my understanding of Ibsen's Nora, for instance, helped me make sense of this strategically self-abasing weak old (wo)man. Lately I have begun to suspect that when Sebastian and Antonio joke with one another about "Widow Dido," they are *naming* Gonzalo: "Bate, I beseech you, widow Dido," exclaims Sebastian (2.1.96).

After invoking the temple, Constabarus further buttresses his defenses by invoking Jewish history, but his version of it denies the destruction and rebuilding of the former and the general turbulence of the latter:

> Since mildest Moses, friend unto the Lord,
> Did work his wonders in the land of Ham,
> And slew the first-born babes without a sword,
> In sign whereof we eat the holy lamb:
> Till now that fourteen hundred years are past,
> Since first the Law with us hath been in force:
> You are the first, and will, I hope, be last,
> That ever sought her husband to divorce. (1.6. 445-52)

Before explicitly mentioning Salome's particular rebellion (in lines 451-52), Constabarus must first insist on the "force" of "the Law," emphasizing its impersonal and timeless authority over Salome. Yet he invokes Moses's laws in terms almost guaranteed to remind Cary's readers, all of whom we may quite safely assume to have considered themselves Christian, that, unbeknownst to Constabarus, he and all in Herod's palace are now, after "fourteen hundred years," standing on the eve of a new era, and also that the "force" of the Mosaic Law is about to be mitigated by the mercy of the new dispensation. And surely Constabarus's identification of the inauguration of Mosaic Law with the slaughter of infants—as the only example provided here of Moses's mildness—calls the mildness of that "Law" into question, while identifying Constabarus with that other Herod, infamous for the Slaughter of the Innocents. Constabarus's insistence on the absolute authority of Mosaic Law is further undercut by the fact that the situation to which Constabarus and Salome are presently responding, namely Herod's supposed death at Cæsar's command, demonstrates the lived reality that all in Judea are subject to Roman law. His insistence that the Law is absolute, unchanging, and uncontested thus reveals itself to be more an expression of fantasy than a statement of truth.

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[235] See also Alexandra's comment about Herod's supposed elevation of her son and father-in-law: "He did not raise them, for they were not low" (1.2.149).

Nevertheless, the force of his insistence is physical. Constabarus's accusations cannot be distinguished from the positioning inscribed in his words; he does not find Salome in her shame so much as construct her in it, and construct himself in opposition to it:

> Oh Salome, how much you wrong your name,
> Your race, your country, and your husband most!
> A stranger's private conference is shame,
> I blush for you, that have your blushing lost.
> Oft have I found, and found you to my grief,
> Consorted with this base Arabian here .... (1.6.375-80)

The frequent deictics of Constabarus's speech, especially the "I … you … your … I … you … my … this … here" of lines four through six, evidence his determined effort to construct the scene, to see it and to have Salome (and of course any witnesses) see it as a place of his "founding." His desires to view, to possess, and to judge are entirely caught up one with the other. Salome's body he has "found," but he has found it where, and thus also as, it should not be: her unblushing face fails to perform the modesty required by her location. Her choice of place to move into and be found standing in performs her unsuitability for her rank, and her speech performs her lack of wisdom.

Yet although Constabarus condemns Salome in this scene, he actually uses much the same discourse of "founding" that Silleus has just used to praise Salome with in the previous scene. Hearing that language redeployed challenges us to reevaluate the encounter we have just viewed (turning our reading of it topsy-turvy). On first reading, act 1 scene 5 of *Mariam* stands out at as the play's first occasion on which someone views a woman with acceptance and approval. Scene 1, Mariam's soliloquy, is followed by a scene in which Alexandra enters and criticizes Mariam, and then by a scene in which Salome enters and criticizes both her opponents; scene 4 ends with Salome alone on stage, reflecting upon her complicated relationships much as Mariam has done at the outset. Finally, a friendly face enters: Salome is joined by her lover Silleus in scene 5, who gives his confident, comprehensive, and approving reading of her appearance, based on her face and her presence in this particular place. Meeting Salome just where he expects and has previously arranged to find her, Silleus hails her: "Well found, fair Salome, Judea's pride!" He also affirms her "innated wisdom" (1.5.1-2), thus insisting at once on her beauty, her rank, and her wisdom as each perfectly evident, and as evidence of each other. But like his rival Constabarus, Silleus looks to a woman to provide evidence of his superior status. His opening line emphasizes his active role, stressing that it is he who has "found" Salome. She is "Well found" because she is exactly where Silleus expected her to be—the sight that greets his eyes is no challenge to his expectations and assumptions. The speech that begins by naming "pride" ends on a very different note:

> Well found, fair Salome, Judea's pride!
> Hath thy innated wisdom found the way
> To make Silleus deem him deified,
> By gaining thee, a more than precious prey?[236] (1.5.325-28)

The repetition of the word "found" invokes both the discourse of discovery and that of buildings and cities. Silleus too is interested in demonstrating the superhuman stability associated with things that can boast foundation. This good finder may also imagine himself as a "founder," not of women but of cities (or at least of scenes); and in this moment of finding or founding he expresses a confident hope that he will continue to enjoy an increased sense of stability. Salome's standing as, and where, he wants her to be allows him to "deem him deified," not subject to the flux to which mortal men, however great, are subject. And this deification of himself as the one who finds her well makes Salome his "prey." Silleus thus constructs this encounter as proof of his active control and her passive availability, proof that she is more mortal and vulnerable than he is. He is a god, who cannot die; she is prey, who must. In this he is no different from Constabarus—no different, either, from Herod or Cæsar.

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[236] In the 1613 text, this line is "By gaining thee a more then precious pray?" Here as elsewhere I follow Weller and Ferguson's modern spelling edition. Hodgson -Wright renders the line as "By gaining thee, O more than precious, pray?" but Weller and Ferguson's rendition seems much more reasonable in terms of both sense and scansion. Neither edition flags the line as being in any way doubtful.

Silleus and Constabarus, the only men in *Mariam*'s first act, are also the only ones to associate the act of judgemental viewing with possession: this is a combination of traits that Cary genders masculine. We do not find such a concentration of deictics in even the most paralyzing speeches of women to one another in this play, nor such concern with establishing the speaker's right to occupy the space he has just entered. It is true that every character we meet in act 1 but Mariam, whether man or woman, attempts to establish his or her superiority over others by performing his or her point of view's authority on the body of some woman, a topic I take up at length in my final chapter. The point I wish to stress here, however, is that, whereas both the men and women of Herod's palace insist on the coherence and legibility of what they see, the men additionally insist upon their right to possess what they see: either the body they interpret or the physical place it inhabits. They want to be able to *find* a reflection of themselves, a process which involves both discovery and possession. Movement is essential but it must ultimately perform fixity: the strong man enters into a space and then occupies it as if he has always been there; retreat, abandonment, any subsequent absence, is not to be imagined.

Possession, of course, also involves the containment of others, and the early modern woman was like Miranda always already subject to containment. Whereas for Silleus, bodily movement represents a regrettable retreat, for the mercurial Salome, motion is desireable. In this she resembles Cary's other women characters: for her victims, Alexandra and Mariam, leaving the stage by walking away from Salome represents at least a partial victory; even for Salome, who so enjoys a pitched battle, retreat holds great potential. Note how frequent verbs of motion are in Salome's exhortation to Silleus, whereas the verb he uses in response stresses immobility:

> SALOME. But whist! Methinks the wolf is in our talk.
> *Be gone* Silleus. Who doth here *arrive*?
> 'Tis Constabarus that doth hither *walk*.
> I'll find a quarrel, him from me *to drive*.
> SILLEUS. Farewell. But were it not for thy command,
> In his despite Silleus here *would stand*. EXIT. (1.5.45-50, emphasis added)

Silleus is the first character we encounter in *Mariam* to describe *standing* as an ideal. Salome, by contrast, expresses a desire for *self*-possession that she associates with the liberty to remove her body from one place to another—from one jurisdiction to another. Indeed, Cary's women never imagine the place of potential self-possession to be the one we see them occupying; even Salome identifies her dreamed-of liberty with another country under other laws. It is not just that she plans to "wrest" the Hebrew law to divorce Constabarus there on Palestinian ground (1.5.14), although one might well agree with Constabarus that her plan, if successfully carried out, would change Palestine to a different country. Salome's subsequent conversation with Silleus also makes it clear that she is planning to change her place of residence quite literally, by leaving Palestine. Silleus responds to her announcement with a seductively utopian fantasy: "Arabia, joy" he exults. "Prepare thy earth with green, / Thou never happy wert indeed till now: / Now shall thy ground be trod by beauty's queen" (1.5.345-47). He then promises Salome that she will rule as queen in Arabia, with oracular influence over King Obodas (1.5.349-56). Salome denies the temptation of the status he offers her, while acknowledging that she expects to enjoy elsewhere the liberty she must wrest before she leaves:

> 'Tis not for glory I thy love accept,
> Judea yields me honour's worthy store:
> Had not affection in my bosom crept,
> My native country should my life deplore.
> Were not Silleus he with whom I go,
> I would not change my Palestine for Rome .... (1.5.357-62)

Given what we know of the speaker's character, these protestations may or may not be sincere. In any case, Salome does *not* argue with the plan to leave—just with the motivation for it that she thinks Silleus ascribes to her. She refuses "glory" and "honours," but she does not refuse influence, and she accepts the inevitability of leaving her "native country" in order to be with Silleus. Unlike Constabarus, to whom Moses's law is simply "the Law" (1.6.450), Salome can imagine making new laws as she can imagine inhabiting a new country. Like Miranda, her idea of a "brave new world" is one that contains people whose looks are, if "goodly," also unfamiliar (*Tempest* 5.1.183, 182).

## 3. What "alteration" brings

> The case is altered with me.
> – reputed to be Queen Elizabeth I's last words[237]

By insisting on her right to be under different rule or elsewhere, Salome weakens the foundations of Constabarus's carefully constructed and assiduously maintained self-image. It is not only the sexually aroused man who, like Pygmalion, blames his disequilibrium on the provokation of woman. In the social spaces Mariam and Cleopatra find themselves occupying, woman's role as scapegoat is generalized to the point where just about anything that disturbs a man's physical, social, or political equilibrum is woman's fault. According to this logic, if women would only behave, men would have nothing to worry about; it is this sentiment that the Chorus expresses at the close of *Mariam*'s first act:

> To wish variety is sign of grief,
> For if you like your state as now it is,
> Why should an alteration bring relief?
> Nay, change would then be feared as loss of bliss.
> That man is only happy in his fate
> That is delighted in a settled state. (1.511-16 [fourth stanza])

Throughout act 1 the Chorus, along with the audience, have observed Salome and Mariam articulating the restlessness they feel in their marriages, and attempting to generate strategies that will help them resolve it. Consequently, Cary scholars agree that the criticism here of those who "wish variety" refers to these two women. As Weller and Ferguson explain:

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[237] For a discussion of the reliability of this ascription, see Marie Axton 30.

> The first four stanzas, emphasizing the restlessness of those "minds that wholly dote upon delight," crave variety, and insatiably seek an ever higher degree of wealth and influence, suggest Salome, as the preceding act has represented her, and it is almost shocking to discover, in the fifth stanza, that all along the Chorus has been talking about Mariam. ... Nevertheless, the misdirection of the reader may catalyze or reinforce a recognition that there is more affinity between Mariam and Salome, or their situations, than either woman would care to acknowledge. (35-36)

This is an astute reading, and an important one. But I would like to suggest that the fourth stanza, quoted above, contains its own shock that we also need to consider: the aphoristic rhyming couplet with which it concludes speaks not of *woman* but of "man." We may read this gender switch as an attempt to assert a truth about the human condition that applies equally to all; we may even read it as a refusal to blame women specifically for the fault of desiring "alteration." Yet given the fact that the rest of the lines in this Chorus do gesture rather pointedly towards one woman (or two), the sudden appearance of the term "man" here (and on a stressed syllable, too) is jarring, and in my view rather problematizes than affirms the propriety of applying the same rule across the board. Since the first four lines of the stanza make a grammatically complete sentence, and the last two lines also make a new complete sentence, the concluding couplet may be read as the start of a new idea: an assessment of the members of the male gender in Mariam's and Salome's world. It is certainly an assessment that the rest of the play shows to be accurate. Constabarus, Herod, and the others do attribute "bliss" to the stability of "a settled state," and cannot imagine being "happy" in their "fate" otherwise.[238] On this reading, the Chorus is both rebuking those who do not find "delight" in their current situation, and celebrating those who do. Women who express their dissatisfaction as Mariam and Salome do are, therefore, according to the Chorus, a threat to men's chances of achieving the happiness they long for.

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[238] If the members of Cary's Chorus of Hebrews are all male, we may conclude that they are, in the very act of criticizing women, confessing their own obsession with stability; if the members of the Chorus are women, or mixed, we may conclude that its members are, in the very act of trying to assert a general truth about the human condition, acknowledging a significant difference between women, who seek variety, and men, who identify bliss with the absence of change. Either casting choice is consistent with this reading of the text, but of course may require different staging.

Cary reveals the inadequacy of this formulation in the disjunction between the specific nature of the women's offense—a dissatisfaction with their particular marriages—and the generalized anxiety of the men who fear change of any kind. To the Chorus, equilibrium depends on women's performing pleased obedience to their husbands. However, given the political instability of the moment, on this day of Herod's announced death, the final aphorism is painfully ironic. True, Salome is at present (and according to the Chorus should choose to remain) "in a settled state" of matrimony. As far as anyone knows, however, Mariam is not—she is a widow through no fault of her own. Nevertheless, the Chorus's rebukes are aimed specifically at her. Furthermore, by this point in the play Cary has made clear that the state the Chorus lives in is at present anything but stable. Indeed, the privilege of living "in a settled state" must seem just as impossible to achieve to these residents of Jerusalem, who believe themselves to be newly unkinged, as it does to the Chorus of Egyptians in Pembroke's *Antonius*, or as it would to Cary's intended audience, living through the transition from one English monarch to another very different one. And just as part of King James's programme was to increase moral and legal pressure on women to enter into (and remain in) a state of obedient marriage, so too does the Chorus teach that it rests with the wives in Herod's palace to maintain the illusion of stability on behalf of those whose state (whether political, psychological, or physical) is not settled at all. After all, whatever is happening politically, women *can* choose to submit to their husbands (as long as the men are living). Nevertheless, even such hard-earned stability is an illusion, as *Mariam* dramatizes, for what Herod's rumoured death confronts all his subjects with is the fact of mortality itself. If the case is altered with him, who can hope to escape alteration?

## B. MAN OVER MATTER: THE SOLDIER'S "HAPPY PUISSANCE" AS TRAGIC FLAW

> There remains, then, the character between these two extremes,—that of a man who is not eminently good and just, yet whose misfortune is brought about not by vice or depravity, but by some error or frailty. – Aristotle, *The Poetics*, VIII

Both Cary's *Mariam* and Pembroke's *Antonius* explore the need for courage in the face of adversity and death. Characters as well as Choruses in both plays spend a good deal of time discussing how they may respond to a reversal of fortune. It is important to recognize, however, that the type of acceptance that *Mariam*'s act 1 Chorus is preaching in the passage considered above is not the same calm acceptance modeled by the sons of Baba or advocated by Protestant neo-Stoicism. The latter in particular advocates a stable attitude towards an unstable world; this Chorus rather attributes "bliss" to external factors, that is to the absence of change. It preaches acceptance of the status quo while implying that such acceptance can prevent the status quo from changing. This is a Stoic heresy.[239] Yet this is the philosophy by which Mariam is judged and, to some extent at least, by which she judges herself; Antony, too, believes that it should be possible, if not for all people then at least for him, to resist Fortune's vagaries. In his view, alteration is brought about by wrong-headed women and can thus be avoided or, at the very least, blamed on unruly wives. Nevertheless, despite the way he protects himself against an awareness of his own unsteadfastness at Cleopatra's expense, there is a certain poignancy to Antony's struggle to hold on to himself, to construct himself as having integrity and consistency—there is something heroic about his heresy. I would argue, then, that Antony's tragic flaw is his commitment to a rigid Roman model of armoured masculinity that does not allow for either the performative pleasures of multiplicity or the serenity offered by Stoicism. This flaw is not what kills him; it is what hinders him from facing his death and Cleopatra's with tenderness and dignity.

Antony identifies flux with femaleness, as we have seen, and embraces the ensuing temptation to blame a woman or women for the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to. His

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[239] "Stoicism's central strength is its calculus of adaptation to unchangeable realities" (Gordon Braden 17). Realities change; this is unchangeable; adaptation is essential.

"constant suspicion of and even adamant belief in Cleopatra's betrayal, despite his friends' protestations to the contrary," is as Krontiris argues "evidence" of his "own insecurity and fear," which is the consequence of his "conventional notions of masculinity" (73-74). There were several different notions of masculinity in circulation during the early modern period in England, as Smith points out; the one in particular that Antony has invested in is that of man as armoured warrior, a model that, as I have discussed, was at the turn of the seventeenth century already on its way out. However, whereas Pembroke's Antony clings to this outmoded militaristic masculinity in the face of the advancing Machiavellian masculinity embodied by Octavius, Shakespeare's Mark Antony is in the vanguard of change. He embraces plural masculinities with a performative approach that Rome cannot abide, and this is partly what makes him vulnerable to Octavius. As Jankowski observes:

> For most readers of the play, [Shakespeare's] Antony is general and soldier, lover and politician, triumvir and emperor. His fullness is both his nature and his strength. For Octavius, however, Antony's fullness is weakness. ... What Octavius and Rome admire so about Antony is his ability to have a body which can be seen as a "text" for one specific ideal of Roman behavior. So strongly is Antony identified with his "soldier's body" that he is denigrated by Romans of all classes—from Octavius to Scarus—once that body has changed, has become something perhaps created by Cleopatra or tainted by her sexuality. Octavius fears the man who returns from Egypt to negotiate with him because that man has ceased to be the symbol of inflexible, immutable, male selfhood with whom he can identify. (154)

In pointing out these differences between Pembroke's and Cary's characterizations, however, I do not mean to suggest that we read Shakespeare's text as a critique of Pembroke's, although I do suggest that a comparison of the two may throw light onto the earlier Antony's "notions of masculinity" and Pembroke's view of them. Indeed, I consider Peter Erickson's comment about Shakespeare's play, that it "invites us to reconsider the traditional definition of masculinity as an identity founded on military success," to be equally applicable to both dramatic texts (131).[240]

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[240] While I do not take her argument to directly contradict my own, Laura Levine's reading of *Antony and Cleopatra* offers a very different, and important, perspective on Antony's character. She reads the play as "the story of a man whose masculinity is draining out of him, the story of the dissolving warrior," a story that is, moreover, one "in which effeminate behavior [such as Antony's when he put on Cleopatra's clothing] leads to constitutive change" (45). Nevertheless, she adds that "By imagining a world in which

In both texts, for instance, Antony (or Mark Antony) attempts to make sense of his defeat at Actium: to cope with his anger at himself, at Cleopatra, and at the gods; to reconcile his present situation with both his soldier's pride in past victories and his lover's passion for the Egyptian queen who has a share in the causes and consequences of his defeat. Shakespeare's Mark Antony is more volatile than Pembroke's Antony, however. Both crueler and more compassionate, he is quite as changeable as his Cleopatra. Antony, on the other hand, because of his inflexible model of masculinity, remains radically self-divided. For this reason he dies imperfectly reconciled (if at all) to either himself, as one who is not identical with his armour, or his queen. But according to Pembroke's original (*i.e.* not translated) "Argument" to *Antonius*, "exquisite delightes and sumptuous pleasure" belong to "a great Prince and a voluptuous lover" both (11-12). This is a combination that Pembroke's own Antony cannot allow himself to enjoy or honour at the last, as he assumes that he cannot be both, even though he *has* been and, in Pembroke's eyes as in Cleopatra's, still is. Like Pembroke before him, Shakespeare can imagine the possibility of a man's being great Prince and voluptuous lover both. His Mark Antony—maddeningly inconsistent and boldly unapologetic about it—is the type of man that Pembroke, writing a decade earlier, invited her readers to imagine and affirm. Shakespeare's characterization, then, does not so much critique Pembroke's vision as realize it.

Despite this affinity the two texts could hardly be more different structurally (except that Shakespeare follows Pembroke in having his hero die in act 4, leaving Cleopatra to respond to his death in act 5, as several critics, including Ferguson and Sanders, have pointed out). Both are called tragedies, yet neither quite fits our expectations of the genre, though for very different

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things simply fail to exist apart from their own theatricalizations, their own enactments, Shakespeare simply identifies theatricality as the constitutive condition of existence itself" (46). I find common ground with her assertion that "*Antony and Cleopatra* depicts ... a world where masculinity exists only as a highly codified performance, and it presents the moment of crisis in which that performance breaks down" (46). I also agree with her astute observation that "in Caesar, Shakespeare offers a portrait of an anti-theatricalist whose attacks contain within them a longing for the very things he attacks" (45), and suggest that her construction of "masculinity" as a singular and coherent ideal may help explain our very different readings of what Antony performs, and what his character believes he is undergoing.

reasons. *Antony and Cleopatra* has arguably more affinity with the history plays than the tragedies in Shakespeare's canon, resisting the expectation for unity of action, and *Antonius* features very little of any kind of action.[241] According to Hill and Morrison, European playwrights of the sixteenth century were "much more familiar with the precepts of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace" than with Aristotle's *Poetics*, and most "preferred to use as their models the plays of Seneca, in which the organisation of a well-formed plot is not entirely neglected, but which obtain their effect chiefly through the brilliance of the rhetorical speeches and debates" (6). These plays, with their "emphasis on the transient nature of human life and happiness," while "often providing a lesson on the consequences of transgressing the moral law," tend not to present to an "audience the sight of characters in conflict, who through the clash of passions and motives create their own destiny" (7, 8). Furthermore, because, as Hannay *et al* point out, Pembroke's "protagonists are brought on stage after all has been lost," when "All that they can do is to decide whether to await Octavius' decree or to end their own lives" (143), we must apply some caution in reading Antony as a tragic hero like either Creon or Hamlet. And there is no question that *Antonius* especially bears many of the marks of a *de casibus* tragedy. Nevertheless, Garnier and Pembroke were not writing in total ignorance of Aristotle. Castelvetro's 1570 commentary on *The Poetics* was known in England; moreover, Philip Sidney more than once invokes Aristotle's "*Art of Poesy*" in his *Defence* (109.16), although he probably only knew of it through Scaliger. So it is difficult to imagine Pembroke not being familiar with Aristotle's ideas, and we should not be entirely surprised to find reading Pembroke's *Antonius* in light of Aristotelian conventions a rewarding exercise. Antony's choices are significant, even now at the eleventh hour, and the shape he gives his destiny suggests a tragic hero after the Aristotelian model: great, yet flawed; subject to fate, yet still responsible.[242]

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[241] In a tragedy, the reader (or audience) influenced by the Aristotelian tradition expects to find either the dramatization, or discussion, or both, of the paradoxical nature of the tragic hero's fate, decreed by destiny and yet also the consequences of his own conscious choices.

In the lengthy monologue with which Pembroke's play opens, Antony raises the question of responsibility immediately. As we may expect from a tragic hero, Antony debates the causes for his downfall, and in this case he begins by attributing his suffering to the "Cruell Heav'ns against" him "obstinate." As we may also expect, however, Antony's hubris gets in the way of his considering whether the fault may be (to at least some degree) his own instead of heaven's, and he immediately moves to ascribing his downfall to yet a third option: the betrayal of his "queene" (1.6). It is the latter reading of events that most of Antony's subsequent monologue elaborates, with only glancing reference to his own responsibility for the recent devastating defeat. As we have seen, Antony blames Cleopatra, ascribes supernatural power to her, and represents her as deceptive and manipulative. He is, he thinks, "A slave become unto her feeble face" (1.17). Thus the Antony of Pembroke's first act constructs himself as a victim of fate, of the disease of love, and of enchantment, in language that tends to confuse and conflate the three. His is a lament for lost glory and, largely, an attempt to absolve himself of responsibility for the loss. Consequently, his opening monologue exhibits on balance more self-pity than dignity, which Pembroke emphasizes in her translation of Garnier. For instance, she renders his line, "Dont Cleopatre estoit à mon malheur jalous" (line 10), as "Who mov'de my Queene (ay me!) to jealousie" (1.11). Pembroke replaces the more analytical "à mon malheur" with the onomatopoeic, almost inarticulate sigh, "ay me!" This rampant self-care allows very few hints of self-blame to get past Antony's defenses in act 1. We do hear his parenthetical confession of having done Octavia "wrong" (1.9), and one other glancing reference to his "unstedfast life" (1.45). But at no point in the monologue does Antony allow himself to imagine the concrete details of his foolishness or instability. Ironically, however, as Pembroke immediately makes clear, the consequence for Antony of this protective policing of boundaries is a radical separation from himself as well as from his guilt. After the first fifty lines Antony, imagining himself dead, commences addressing himself in the second person as "Poore *Antonie*!" (1.52). Although such discourse betrays how untenable is Antony's version of integrity, he goes bravely forward, not to bury but to praise his fallen hero self.

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[242] Charlton quotes Ascham's report that he, Thomas Watson, and and J. Cheke "'had many pleasant talkes togither, in comparing the preceptes of *Aristotle* and *Horace de Arte Poetica* with the examples of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Seneca*'" (34 n.2), and notes that Ascham was unusual in giving "preference to the Greeks—'in tragedy the Grecians Sophocles and Eurides far overmatch our Seneca in Latin." His "casual appropriation, *our* Seneca," as Charlton observes, "suggests the vastly stronger hold the Latin poet had upon the dramatists of the sixteenth century" (27-28). It is also Charlton's view that "in England the Ascham-Cheke coterie had practically no influence on drama, and certainly no Hellenising influence" (34).

Antony's determination to protect himself from an awareness of his own weakness culminates in the sweeping generalizations about women's essential unreliability which close *Antonius*'s opening monologue, and through which Pembroke problematizes Antony's masculinist model of constancy. As we saw in the last chapter, Antony invokes a gendered construction of virtue in support of an otherwise unsupportable conclusion: "Justly complaine I she disloyall is, / Nor constant is, even as I constant am" (1.142-3). One effect of this unqualified assertion is to invite skepticism from the reader: we may well be less ready to grant the justice of Antony's complaints against Cleopatra, since we cannot grant him the constancy he claims for himself. After all, Antony "left his men," although it is Cleopatra who finally says so explicitly in the second act (2.448); in all of his lengthy act 1 monologue this detail never escapes Antony's lips. When he does find time to consider his relationship with his followers, in act 3, it is with a focus on his virtue and their failure to requite it. "All leave me, flee me," he complains to Lucilius; "none, noe not of them / Which of my greatnes greatest good receiv'd, / Stands with my fall" (3.7-9). As far as this goes, it is fairly accurate; it does not go so far, however, as to acknowledge Antony's own abandonment of his fleet, or the imminent subjection of Egypt's populace. It is Philostratus who reminds us in act 2 of the suffering which irresponsible leadership causes, lamenting that "Love, playing love … / ... hath ashes made our townes" (2.285-86). Although this reading of events resembles Antony's in blaming the passion evoked by woman rather than military aggression for Egypt's woes, it also serves to underscore the fact that the desolation to others caused by military battle and defeat seems not to have crossed Antony's mind. When it comes to pain, at this point in his life anyway (and we might remember that this is a very painful point), he considers only his own. When it comes to responsibility, he considers only Cleopatra's.

But Pembroke makes clear that Antony is choosing to see matters the way he does. For one thing, he resists the invitations others offer him to let go of his *idée fixe* and see Cleopatra and himself in a different light. Lucilius is able temporarily to mollify Antony's concern that Cleopatra has abandoned him, by inviting him to imagine "The dole she made upon our overthrow" and "Her poore attire when she devoutly kept / The solemne day of her nativitie" (3.911, 913-24). This conjured scene has some effect on Lucilius's hearer, an effect that will be repeated and intensified by reports of Cleopatra's grief and suicide later in the play. At this point, Antony temporarily leaves off attributing *all* responsibility to the queen, as he shortly afterwards asserts that "Fortune engulfes me in extreame distresse: / She turns from me her smiling countenance, / Casting on me mishapp upon mishapp" (3.981-82).[243] However, the rhetoric of these lines also echoes his earlier complaints about Cleopatra.[244] Given this fact, and given the immediate context in which Antony states these two lines, we cannot be at all certain whether Fortune, or Cleopatra, is the antecedent for the subject pronoun "She." Antony's rhetoric thus conflates Fortune with mortal woman, tending to make the latter—Cleopatra in this case—entirely responsible for whether or not a man—he in this case—finds himself, or anything else, to be "stedfast."[245] The defenses are still up, the armour still on. Soon after uttering this ambiguous statement, Antony again turns to blaming Cleopatra for his affliction, rejecting his companion's assertion that "nothing is dureable, / Vertue except, our never failing hoste," in favour of one that blames all transience, all lack of durability, not on the human condition but on a representative of the female sex (3.999b-1000). In the end, he talks himself back into claiming that it was "Pleasure" that "Alone hath me this strange disastre *spunne*, / *Falne* from a souldior to a Chamberer" (3.1161, 1163-64, emphasis added).[246] Cleopatra, who in Roman eyes tempted Antony from his duty with her promises of pleasure; Venus, the personification of pleasure, with whom her lover Mars became entangled in Vulcan's vengeful net; Fortuna, whose spinning wheel leads to man's fall; and the Fates who spin and measure out the thread of a man's life are here [illegible] in one ghastly image of the female principle as agent of unwelcome change.

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[243] Again, Antony agrees with Lucilius's attribution of their fate to "fickle" Fortune's "rowling bowle" (3.992, 994), discussing whether or not "Fortune may chaunge againe" (3.1057).

[244] We have already seen just how important it is to Antony to find a woman's "smiling countenance" turned towards him (discussed in the previous chapter).

[245] He also conflates them both with Venus.

Shakespeare's Mark Antony, on the other hand, is noteworthy for his inconsistency. Crueler and more magnanimous than Pembroke's titular hero, more extreme in both pride and humility, more apt to alter his stance, he is aware of the benefits that may accrue from embracing change. Consider, for instance, the contrast between his high-handed dismissal of his soldiers' pleas that he fight on land (3.7), and his later urging of his attendants to take his "shippe, / Laden with Gold" and make their "peace with Caesar" (3.11.4-6). Mark Antony's act of sending the deserting Enobarbus's treasure after him into Caesar's camp (4.5) validates the devotion of those (in addition to Cleopatra) who have chosen to throw their lots in with his in the past. Yet this same leader has Caesar's messenger brutally whipped. Mark Antony repeatedly astonishes with his moral and material generosity, and with his appalling lack thereof. We see nothing either as generous or as brutal in Pembroke's Antony.[247] In his relationship with Cleopatra, Shakespeare's Mark Antony is again both more cruel and more tender than is Pembroke's Antony. Consider his response to Cleopatra's apology immediately following her (and his subsequent) flight, as Shakespeare portrays it:

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[246] *cf.* Garnier's "La seule Volupté … M'a filé ce desastre, estant d'homme guerrier / Dés le commencement, devenu casanier" (1148-1151). Pembroke's "Fallne" replaces Garnier's "devenu" [become].

[247] It is difficult, when comparing Shakespeare's work to anyone else's, to draw distinctions between characters without thereby suggesting that these differences demonstrate the bard's superiority. I hope I have managed to resist, at least to some extent, the temptation to treat Shakespeare's Mark Antony as if he were, *a priori*, more "round" a character (to borrow Forster's term), more complex, or more realistically drawn.

> CLEOPATRA. Pardon, pardon.
> ANTHONY. Fall not a teare I say, one of them rates
>     All that is wonne and lost: Giue me a kisse,
>     Euen this repays me. (3.11.68-71)

Yet there is nothing in Pembroke's drama as harsh as Mark Antony's verbal lashings of Cleopatra, in both cases following close upon an apparently sincere reconciliation. He throws her age and her past lovers in her face (3.13); he declares that "The Witch shall die" (4.12.47). Pembroke's Antony complains but does not plot vengeance.

Less volatile than Mark Antony, Pembroke's Antony is, to some extent, simply too caught up in self-pity to change much, but he is also working very hard to hold himself together—to keep his armour on. Consequently this Antony is beside himself when that which constitutes his masculinity, namely his ability to conquer, is stripped away. Post-Actium, Antony is "scarse maister of" himself, who was "late maister of so many nations" (1.130-31). The two masteries are inseparable, for him: power over others is how a man knows himself to be strong, to be in control of himself. And Antony's "conventional notions of masculinity," to use Krontiris's phrase, have served him well in the past; Mars has sufficed him as a model of masculinity. War was his "first reason," Antony tells us, and battle always "Recur'd" his "sprite" (1. 82, 84). Now, therefore, he believes he must earn back his self-respect and conquer his present womanly weakness using the same means: he "must adorne the wanton loves" he "us'de / With some couragiouse act" (3.1252-53). The soldier's armed body in action is thus, for Antony, allied with the will, with reason; the soldier's vanquished foes are, like "the world widow of libertie" (4.1373), female, passive, earthy and earthly. And these qualities are, must be, present in whatever or whomever has been mastered. The choice is between Mars and Venus only—between war and weakness, steel and soft flesh, man and matter, courage and cowardice. Consider, for instance, how this earlier Antony sums up his change of condition: "Since then the Baies [of martial triumph] so well thy forehead knewe / To Venus mirtles yeelded have their place" (1.68-69). If a man cannot serve and imitate Mars, he must serve and imitate Venus, which means not only loving, but becoming, woman, like the degraded and effeminate Hercules "Spinning at distaffe, … / ... in maides attire" (3.1233-34). To faile in "*Marses* schole" is to be proven "a woman," according to Antony, and to be in any way subject to the feminine is therefore to fail (3.1072, 1071).

That this binary model limits Antony's ability to imagine alternate models of masculinity is dramatized by other characters in Pembroke's text, who invoke neither Mars nor Venus but the androgynous Athena, cool fruit of the forehead of her father Zeus. She is traditionally represented wearing armour, but Pembroke's translation stresses her association with the olive branch of peace. For instance, Pembroke's Roman soldiers express their hope, their longing for peace, in terms of Athena supplanting Mars:

> Our banks shall cherish now
> The branchie pale-hew'd bow
> Of *Olive*, *Pallas* praise,
> In stede of barraine bayes. (4.1775-78)

Unlike Mars, this Athena fights more for peace than for glory, and Pembroke's contrast of Athena's olive with "barraine bayes" ("de steriles Lauriers" in Garnier, 759) associates Pallas Athena (quite unusually) with an earthy, feminine fertility. In this context we may also recall that, although the goddess of strategy, Athena is not complete unless supplemented by her own reverse image, the Gorgon Medusa forever imprinted on her shield. However, unlike these soldiers, Antony is afraid to trade in his sword for Venus's myrtles; he cannot even conceive of wielding a "bow [bough] of olive." His crisis of identity is so acute because he has been stripped by Cleopatra (not to mention Caesar) of his "happie puisance … / Which erst" he "had by warlike conquest wonne" (3.951-52). He finds peace unimaginable, and love unmanly. But from Pembroke's point of view, Antony's worst enemy is his own inability to see manhood except in terms of the souldior/Chamberer binary: his cherished inflexible model of heroic masculinity.

The tension between "happy puissance" and passion is contained, for Antony, in the single word "arms," a term equally significant in the discourses of war and love.[248] Love is problematic to one who is both prince and lover, because he must quite literally give up one set of arms in order to gain another, as Antony reminds himself:

> Thou threw'st the Curiace off, and fearfull healme,
> With coward courage unto *Aegipts* Queene
> In haste to runne, about her necke to hang
> Languishing in her armes .... (1.75-78)

Antony's armour is his defence, of the flesh and from the flesh. Love frightens him because it leaves him defenceless in a way that is analogous to military defeat, which he describes using language very similar to that of the above-quoted passage:

> That nought remaines (so destitute am I)
> But these same armes which on my back I weare.
> Thou [Cleopatra] should'st have had them too, and me unarm'de
> Yeelded to *Caesar* naked of defence. (1.23-6)

Pembroke's translation stresses the physicality of Antony's loss by representing the "despouillé" of Garnier (25) as "naked," a metaphor which emphasizes physical vulnerability rather than the loss of such material spoils as wealth or land. Unarmed by Caesar or disarmed by lover, either way the man is revealed in all his mortal weakness, naked and ashamed.

Shakespeare's Mark Antony does often think in similar terms, identifying self-alienation and loss of self-control with both military defeat and love. He says, for example, "If I lose my Honour, / I lose myself" (3.4.22-3). This echoes a concern he expresses earlier: "These strong Egyptian fetters I must break, / Or lose my selfe in dotage" (1.2.120-21). But this Roman recognizes more options than Pembroke's does, options that allow him to transform defeat into victory by reconstructing his position relative to others. For him, the categories of ruler and servant are like those of male and female; they are not fixed or mutually exclusive; they exist to be made use of. He is protean, excluding no type of behaviour, even cross-dressing, from his repertoire of strategic self-fashionings. Shakespeare's opening scene suggests that Mark Antony perceives himself to be beset by women and is afraid of the female. He must choose between one woman and another, and Cleopatra uses his fear to manipulate him:

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[248] It is also a symbolic concrete noun with excellent staging potential.

> CLEOPATRA. Nay hear them *Anthony*.
> *Fulvia* perchance is angry. ...
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> ANTONY. How, my Love?
> CLEOPATRA. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> You must not stay here longer, your dismission
> Is come from *Caesar*, therefore hear it *Anthony*.
> Where's *Fulvias Process*? (1.1.19-20a, 24b, 26-28)

Yet in denying Cleopatra's request that he hear Fulvia's message, insisting instead on devoting all his time to Cleopatra, Mark Antony asserts himself by choosing which woman he will submit to; he does not condemn the sex. In fact, Mark Antony repeatedly gains power by strategically choosing the person to whom, the time at which, and the terms on which he will submit. (See, for instance, the scenes with Caesar and Pompey, 2.2 and 2.6.) He also respects strong adversaries, whether male or female: "There's a great Spirit gone," he says of Fulvia upon hearing of her death (1.2.127). Mark Antony does not think in terms of rigid hierarchies, despite his vaunting pride; indeed, he understands mutability to be essential to a winning strategy, whether in war or in love.

Because of this strategy, both Mark Antony and his Cleopatra enjoy the inspiration of an expanded Pantheon of role models, including Roman and Egyptian deities. Whereas Enobarbus does describe Cleopatra as resembling Venus in his famous description of her on her barge (2.2.201), Shakespeare soon makes it clear that Cleopatra has constructed this self as one among many possible selves. Later she dresses as Isis (3.6.17); another time, Anthony calls her "Thetis" (3.7.61). Filo complains that "the dotage of" his "generals" constitutes a falling off from "plated Mars" to "the Bellows and the fan / To coole a Gypsies Lust," but this "Roman thought" is inadequate to explain Anthony's protean character (1.1.5, 9). Compared to Pembroke's Antony, both he and Cleopatra have (or take) a considerable degree of liberty to negotiate and initiate their constructions of themselves and of each other. Mark Antony, who even allows Cleopatra to dress him up in her clothing during their love play (2.5), does not define maleness and femaleness according to the characteristics of Mars and Venus. In addition to Mars and Hercules, he also compares himself to Jove. This name invokes not only the political power that Mars lacks, but also Jove's earth-shaking quarrels with Juno, his sister-queen, and his many infidelities within an eternal marriage.

In the view of Shakespeare's Enobarbus, who knows both of them as well as anyone can, Mark Antony loves Cleopatra because she is so like him (2.5.32-34). Cleopatra similarly asserts, "He is my self" (2.351a). But this does not mean that either has become the image of the other. Rather, as Mark Antony puts it, he and Cleopatra have exchanged hearts (4.14.16). However faulty or irregular each heart may be, both characters accept of an interchange of identity, an interpenetration. For Mark Antony to say so, furthermore, is for him to say that he contains the female within himself. Thus he explicitly celebrates the state which Pembroke's Antony, as we have seen, explicitly fears and loathes. Pembroke's Antony is terrified of discovering it to be the case that anything of Cleopatra's has gotten inside him; Shakespeare's Mark Antony, by contrast, is at least sometimes glad to entertain the idea of a common nature, or of two natures with permeable boundaries.

What neither Roman is glad to entertain, of course, is the other thing that makes him a man in his "dotage"—not his difference from women, but his difference from the gods—his mortality. In his earlier reference to "dotage," quoted above, Mark Antony is thinking about love. But by the time he speaks again of doting, post-Actium, the signifier has slipped. In words which hint at suicide and also contain his first explicit mention of age's encroachments, Mark Antony now says, "My very hairs do mutiny: for the white / Reproue the browne for rashnesse, and they them / For feare, and doting" (3.11.13-15a). Pembroke's Antony, similarly, finally admits the age issue in act 3 of Pembroke's play. He allows himself to consider the other explanation of his self-perceived weakness: that he "by feeble age" is "Mightily weakned both in force and skill" (3.1063-64). The relational significance of this choice is foregrounded by Antony's subsequent comment: "This makes me plaine, makes me my selfe accuse" (3.1067). In recognizing this weakness of the flesh he turns from blaming Cleopatra to accusing himself.

To the last, however, Antony seeks death, not solely as a means to be reunited with Cleopatra, but out of a concern for his reputation and a desire to redeem it.[249] He believes himself otherwise defeated by his fleshly vulnerabilities, mortality and effeminacy: both his weaknesses are foes that he may defeat at once through suicide. For him this act is a means of mastering the flesh, that is, of mastering and defeating the woman without and her within. Here he is "disarm'd" enough to be able to admit that he loves Cleopatra: having been moved by the (false) report of her suicide,

> His armor he unlaste, and cast it of [*sic*],
> Then all disarm'd he thus againe did say:
> My Queene, my heart, the griefe that now I feele,
> Is not that I your eies, my Sunne, do loose,
> For soone againe one Tombe shal us conjoyne:
> I grieve, whom men so valorouse did deeme,
> Should now, then you, of lessor valor seeme. (4.1608-14)

Casting off of his armour signifies Antony's choice to own his identity as a lover, to reconstruct himself as fleshly (sexual and mortal). Nevertheless, as we soon find out despite his expressed intention, he fails to perfectly unite the two. He accepts her faithfulness and finds a way at last to be both prince and lover through his courageous suicide, joining the woman he loves by slaying the woman he is, much as Othello slays his inner Turk. But this impulse is at least as strong as his love for Cleopatra, for the passage quoted above ends with Antony returning to his constant fear of looking cowardly in comparison to a woman. He grieves the loss of his reputation for valour *more* than he grieves the loss of his queen; this is hardly the rhetoric of a Tristan or a Romeo. As it is, Antony approaches death knowing himself outmanned, unmanned, by a woman, and he is not happy about it.

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[249] It is also at this point that he comes most nearly to resemble one of Seneca's heroes, as Braden characterizes them. As we have seen, in his self-pity Antony is far from imitating either the Stoic ideal of patient detachment or what Braden characterizes as its dark twin of *furor* (heroic anger), both of which are the consequence of "the self's search for a radical, unpredicated independence" (67). However, Braden also argues that "the Stoic is still, helplessly, going to want his self-possession and independence to be acknowledged and admired by others" (27). Act 3 closes with Antony expressing a qualified but nonetheless recognizably Senecan Stoicism:

> Die, die I must: I must a noble death,
> A glorious death unto my succor call:
> I must deface the shame of time abus'd,
> I must adorne the wanton loves I us'de
> With some couragious act: that my last daie
> By mine owne hand my spotts may wash away.
> Come deare *Lucill*: alas: why wepe you thus!
> This mortall lot is common to us all. (3.1249-55)

He rises towards courage at least partly because Lucilius is there to witness it. This is a performance that Lucilius must applaud.

In this respect his suicide is radically different from that of Shakespeare's Mark Antony, who dies believing that he thereby both defeats the dotage of age and affirms the dotage of his love. Each character, on first hearing of his Cleopatra's supposed suicide, condemns himself for what Pembroke's Antony terms his "lesser valor" than hers (4.1614) and for lacking what Shakespeare's Roman terms "The Courage of a Woman" (4.16.60). However, only the latter subsequently changes his stance entirely, denying that there is anything "cowardly" about his death (4.14.56). In his eyes, at that point, he is undefeated.

## C. "ONE VIRTUE … MIGHT SUFFICE": HUBRIS, MUTABILITY, AND FEMALE RULE

> What has been largely overlooked in arguments that trace the separation of public and private spheres is the significant discursive effort to valorize, rather than trivialize, private life: in short, to make the private sphere heroic.
> – Mary Beth Rose, *Gender and Heroism*, p. xiv

Although critics have not to my knowledge made direct compare between the titular protagonists of Pembroke's and Cary's tragedies, the two characters do have much in common. Like Pembroke's Antony, Mariam is proud; this much is obvious. Both are greatly concerned for their reputations, as well, and both need to see themselves as superior to (other) women. Pride is also a characteristic of Pembroke's Cleopatra, of course. But at the outset of Cary's tragedy it is Antony, and *not* Cleopatra, whom Mariam resembles, in the particular pride she takes in a superior fixity of body and mind. One female protagonist of the early modern drama whom Mariam does resemble in this regard, however, is John Webster's Duchess of Malfi. As

Jankowski convincingly argues, the duchess fails to acknowledge that no woman's body can or should be "marble-constant" (156), and consequently develops "a system of rule in which she fails to consider her body's potential [for change], either as a means to power or a means by which she can lose power" (151). This is a mistake that Pembroke's Cleopatra avoids, but that her Antony and Cary's Mariam do make. Both these tragic heroes seek to achieve or maintain fixity in themselves, a quest which Pembroke and Cary each portrays as misguided and hubristic. But in my view, this commitment to an inappropriate ideal is the tragic flaw that both protagonists share.

Of course, simply considering a female character as a tragic hero may be thought a perverse act. By the time Cary was writing *Mariam*, the commercial theatres had presented many a tragic hero whose "misfortune is" at least partially "brought about ... by some error or frailty," as required by Aristotle, including at least one woman—Shakespeare's Juliet. And Cary certainly wants us to consider the degree of Mariam's responsibility for her fate.[250] Yet tragedy, as Dixon reminds us, is largely founded upon "illusions of male autonomy and self-sufficiency" (87). Mary Beth Rose argues, somewhat problematically, that "the gendering of heroism from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth centuries in England does not reveal an accelerating idealization of that which is male, public, and active, but rather the opposite. ... Rather than acts of killing and conquest, the patient suffering of error, misfortune, disaster, and malevolence is idealized in a newly and self-consciously constructed heroism of endurance that privileges the private life and pointedly rejects war" (*Gender* xii). But even if we accept Rose's argument, equally important is her point that, whereas "men can occupy female subject positions and vice versa ...[,] when men ... do inhabit female positions, their doing so is valued differently from women's occupying similar structural positions" (*Gender* xvii). In other words, an early modern man (such as Milton's Samson) who suffers patiently is much more likely to be viewed as heroic than a woman. Conversely, a woman who exhibits a heroic pride, as in my view does Cary's Mariam, is likely to be viewed the way Mariam is by other characters in the play: as transgressive and given to the feminine weakness of vanity rather than heroic. Nevertheless, whereas the first half of *Mariam* may be considered to emphasize the unwisdom of the protagonist's pride, the second half simultaneously validates this pride as tragically admirable and challenges the audience's assumptions about its nature.

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[250] In "Sex and the Female Tragic Hero," Jeanne Addison Roberts offers a valuable reading of Cary's Mariam as "a multifaceted female hero" (214) who, for instance, "hsa long soliloquies that reveal both her feelings and especially her conflicts. She acts on an impressively brave conviction that she is a free agent, and her very vacillation makes her seem believable" (213-14). However, Roberts does not address the question of tragic flaw, which is my main focus here.

Mariam has been taught to believe that a virtuous woman is as pure in substance as in heart, and her attack on Salome in act 1 scene 3 reflects a concern with her own mixed nature that has been preoccupying her since the first line of the play. Here her pride is painfully obvious: "My betters far!" she mocks. "Base woman, 'tis untrue, / You scarce have ever my superiors seen" (1.3.223-24). Such language, as Weller and Ferguson point out, makes "Mariam's tragedy" seem "the result of arrogance and miscalculation: her self-righteousness and assertions of genealogical, even racial, superiority gratuitously aggravate Salome's animosity" (39). It is this same aggravated animosity that helps to provoke Salome's ploy with the supposed poison in act 4, the deception that leads directly to Mariam's arrest. Furthermore, Mariam's refusal to mince words in her rejection of Herod's overtures also provides ample reason for her friend and protector, Sohemus, to solemnly prophesy that "Unbridled speech is Mariam's worst disgrace, / And will endanger her" (3.3.183-84). The act 3 Chorus explicitly associates such unbridled speech with the pride "That seeks to be by public language grac'd" (240), an interpretation that Mariam herself appears to concur with in her reflections following her imprisonment, a passage that I discuss below.[251]

Nevertheless, Cary does not make it entirely easy for us to pin pride on her protagonist as the sign of her being set apart for sacrifice; we need not conclude that Cary herself concurs with either her Chorus or her tragic heroine. For one thing, she treats Mariam's pride with considerable sympathy and respect. For another, the play's structural oddities are such that, as Weller and Ferguson have shown, the last two acts appear to suggest a very different reading of Mariam's character and the reason for her death from the first three. As evidence of her sympathy, Cary constructs Mariam's attack on Salome as a response to great provocation. Only after being accused of "plotting," of hoping "to have another king," of feeling "joy for Herod's death," and of being inferior to her "betters" who "Might have rejoic'd to be" Herod's "wife," does Mariam speak to Salome at all during that disastrous first encounter (1.3.207, 209-10, 221-22). Cary also represents Mariam as exhibiting an admirable—and vocal—pride during her execution, a point to which I shall return in my final chapter. The Nuntio reports that he "saw / The stately Mariam not debas'd by fear: / Her look did seem to keep the world in awe" (5.1.25-27). I find nothing in act 5 to suggest that we should do other than share the Nuntio's admiration of this highly effective and highly prideful performance. If Mariam's pride is the source of some of her errors it is also, clearly, the source of much of her dignity and strength.

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[251] The reading of Mariam's character as prideful is also consistent with Cary's primary source, Josephus. "Mariamme upbraided and publicly reproached both the King's mother and sister," he records, "telling them that they were but abjectly and basely born." She was, adds Josephus, "a woman that excelled both in continence and courage, notwithstanding that she defaulted somewhat in affability and impatience of nature" (qtd. in Hodgson-Wright 152, 154).

Although the sympathy is observable throughout, we may nonetheless conclude that Mariam's pride is valorized mainly at the end, a view which is not in itself incompatible with Weller and Ferguson's analysis of the play's structure. In the first three acts, on their reading, Mariam's tragic flaw appears to be her outspoken arrogance, her unwillingness to perform modesty. Even her overreliance on her chastity is "framed as a kind of narcissistic complacency." Yet the last two acts of *Mariam* "increasingly *fix* its protagonist in a figural role as Christlike victim or martyr of *integrity*" (39, emphasis added). However, I would argue that the question of integrity is at least as important as that of pride, and that Cary's examination of it accounts for many (though perhaps not all) troubling inconsistencies. Primarily, instead of asserting as Weller and Ferguson do that the last half of the play suggests that Mariam's "downfall" may be "seen as the direct result of her integrity," I would argue rather that her downfall results from her commitment to an inadequate model of integrity, a commitment that Cary problematizes from the play's opening lines. Indeed, I do not see Mariam becoming *fixed* at all in the last two acts; rather, Cary portrays a woman who becomes increasingly at peace with being *unfixed*, with the impossibility of being solely singular. Mariam's prideful behaviour in the first three acts especially is, in my view, an expression of a much more fundamental problem: her fear of being mixed, multiple, incoherent—of being, in other words, too much (like) a "Base woman." Approaching at her end an attitude much like that of Pembroke's Cleopatra, Mariam becomes less convinced that being entirely chaste makes her legibly entire. Her pride is differently invested.

This change[252] is evident if we compare Mariam's early words to Salome with her later reflections. Mariam's initial insistence on the superiority of her birth is at the same time an insistence on a physical integrity that she needs to believe in, as her first attack on Salome, ugly as it is, makes clear: "Thou parti-Jew, and parti-Edomite, / Thou mongrel" (1.3.235-36). This reading of Salome's mixed nature precedes Mariam's invocation of Salome's "black acts" in the list that follows, and by implication comes before them causally as well (1.3.38). By contrast, her lament on the eve of her execution represents her own best attempt at the moment to interpret events, and conveys her willingness to take responsibility for them:

> Had I but with humility been grac'd,
> As well as fair I might have prov'd me wise:
> But I did think because I knew me chaste,
> One virtue for a woman might suffice.
> That mind for glory of our sex might stand,
> Wherein humility and chastity
> Doth march with equal paces hand in hand. (4.8.559-65)

Although Mariam's emphasis on humility in this passage does imply a turning away from pride, the arrogance she now eschews is not moral but intellectual. She does not go on to show humility in any of the ways one might expect: the messages she sends Herod the next day are anything but apologetic or conciliatory. This is a marked contrast to such scaffold speeches as Anne Boleyn's, which I discuss in the next chapter. And she is still interested in "glory." What humbles her here,

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[252] A change that, for reasons which I hope will become clear, I choose not to refer to by the conventional phrase of "character development."

I would suggest, is the realization that a woman may be both fair and wise, both humble and chaste, and that no one trait defines the essential self. This new humility is not simply a necessary supplement to the prime virtue of chastity; the two are "equal" and appear "hand in hand." I also note that the new model Mariam espouses reframes "glory" as mobility: paradoxically, "That mind … might stand / Wherein" its virtues "march." The rhyme between *stand* and *hand in hand* further emphasizes the paradox of female self-representation as Cary understands it. The ability to stand (to survive, to perform autonomy) depends on being unfixed in two ways: being openly, formally, mobile; and possessing (at least) two virtues, neither of which can stand for the other. Although Mariam comes to this *anagnoresis* in act 4, an arrival she begins moving towards from her opening monologue, the survival potential of performing such doubleness is one that she realizes only imperfectly, and very late.

In her longing to be self-consistent, as I have argued, Mariam resembles Antony. She also resembles him in her distrust of her own body's signs of tenderness or affection. One big difference, of course, is that she is not like him a warrior, and does not require her body to perform acts of violence or of possession as proof of its marble-constancy. The other difference is that, as a woman, she is *expected* to be changeable, an expectation that she does not well know how to work to her advantage. In this, she resembles and indeed anticipates Webster's Duchess of Malfi (*c.* 1613), who also fails to develop successful strategies for incorporating the inevitable evidence of her mutability into her performance of authority.

I am not the first to find similarities between Cary's queen and Webster's duchess. Christina Luckyj, for instance, argues:

> Set side by side, John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* and Elizabeth Cary's *Tragedy of Mariam* seem initially like mirror images of each other: the former features a woman who defies her male relatives to marry the man of her choice, while the latter shows us a woman who defies her husband by defending her male relatives. Both plays maximize the authority of their female protagonists by according them the most powerful position available to women in early modern society: that of widowhood, 'a time of maximum female autonomy' (Mendelson and Crawford 180). Even though the Duchess remarries in act 1 and Mariam's husband is later revealed to be alive, both women begin their respective plays with an enlarged cultural mandate as women not subject to male

> authority—a mandate extended by their status as aristocrats and rulers. ("Historicizing" 137-38)

The exact scope of either woman's "enlarged cultural mandate," however, is in both plays ambiguous and contested. For one thing, if widowhood in early modern England was "a time of maximum female autonomy," it was also a time of hostility, anxiety, and conflicting advice. As Mary Beth Rose observes, "an independent woman running her own household presented a contradiction to English patriarchal ideology," and so widows were often encouraged to remarry and make themselves once again subject to a husband; yet "a widow who did remarry was criticized as lustful and disloyal, particularly in the threat her remarriage posed to a family's retention of property" (*Expense* 165).[253] Furthermore, "the remarriage of any widow confronted every man with the threatening prospect of his own death and the entry of another into his place" (Barbara J. Todd 55).[254] As widows, then, Mariam and the Duchess are legible as unstable and destabilizing threats.

The exact scope of Mariam's and the Duchess's newly "enlarged ... mandate" also remains undefined. Because of their status as wives of rulers and mothers of heirs, their new roles are fraught with ambiguity, with tension, and with the appearance at least of great temptation. Neither woman rules in her own right, yet in the absence of a (publicly acknowledged) husband, neither is clearly subordinate to any other. Each is also mother to the heir, a position that gives the Duchess official if limited authority: as Jankowski points out, the Duchess of Malfi rules "as Regent for her son, the minor heir to the Duke of Malfi, her dead husband" (149). Each, furthermore, embodies the possibility of female sovereignty interrupting the line of inheritance, a possibility that characters in both plays take seriously. At the close of Webster's play, the eldest son has somehow disappeared, and the son by Antonio is poised to inherit the Duchy; those who acknowledge this child's claim and commit "to establish this young, hopeful gentleman / In's mother's right" obviously do not see the duchess as merely a Regent (5.5113-14). Mariam has even more of a claim to rule in her own right than the duchess does, for she is the sole surviving descendant of the rightful king. As a widow Mariam is a sexual threat by virtue of her hot blood; she is at least as much a political threat to Herod's dynastic claims in general and to his surviving relatives, Salome and Pheroras, in particular, by virtue of her royal blood.

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[253] Lori Schroeder Haslem also points out that early modern "medical and obstetrical texts describe the increased likelihood of hysteria (defined as a wandering womb) in widowed women given their uteruses' newly unmet appetite for semen. Widows were usually advised to take another husband to sate this uterine sexual appetite" (147).

[254] Todd also provides evidence that attitudes towards the remarriage of widows were changing at the turn of the seventeenth century, becoming more negative.

As a non-virgin woman of high status, great influence, and at least some claim to sovereign authority in a place that lacks a male ruler, Mariam's position is thus very similar to that of such ruling women as Webster's duchess and Pembroke's Cleopatra. However, one significant difference between the two queens who are the focus of this project (Mariam and Pembroke's Cleopatra) and the two who are Jankowski's focus (the Duchess of Malfi and Shakespeare's Cleopatra) is that Pembroke's and Cary's dramatic texts do not give quite as much attention as Shakespeare and Webster do to the inclination and ability of the sovereign woman's body to have sex and become pregnant (although they do not deny or ignore it either). This inclination and ability is Jankowski's focus; fundamental to her argument is her observation that both the Duchess of Malfi and Shakespeare's Cleopatra "enjoy their female sexuality and welcome the products of it—their children" (151). One consequence of this focus is that Jankowski neglects some of the non-sexual strategies employed by the women characters she considers, but her argument nevertheless offers important insights into the dilemmas and opportunities faced by Pembroke's and Cary's queens.

The chief difference between Webster's duchess and Shakespeare's queen, on Jankowski's reading, lies in the difference between the ability of each sovereign woman to "establish a system of rule in which she … consider[s] her body's potential, either as a means to power or a means by which she can lose power," where by "body's potential" Jankowski has in mind especially the potential to conceive children (151). The fact that the Duchess "opts to keep her marriage secret indicates that she has not determined an effective way to integrate it into her public life as ruler," argues Jankowski (151). More specifically, "In separating her body natural from her body politic, the Duchess has not provided a means for dealing with the fact that her married body natural is expected to become pregnant while her 'widowed' body politic is expected to remain 'unpregnant,' constant of shape" (173). On this reading, the Duchess's secret, imperfectly disguised pregnancies allow the stereotypes of the whore and of the widow's hyperactive sexuality "room for consideration," with the consequence that "the Duchess forces consideration of herself as *woman* rather than as *ruler* and foregrounds her body natural at the expense of her body politic" (176). By contrast, in Cleopatra "Shakespeare has created a female figure within whose seemingly gratuitous voluptuousness lies a clever strategy for successful rule (153). In "uniting her body natural and body politic by making her active sexuality part of her political strategy, Cleopatra avoids the kinds of stereotypes that victimize the Duchess" (176). As evidence, Jankowski points to the fact that Cleopatra seduced first Julius Caesar and then Mark Anthony, gaining political power through her sexual conquest of each man; furthermore, argues Jankowski, in her varied role-playing:

> The Queen of Egypt's "infinite variety" becomes desirable and life-affirming in contrast to the sterile immutability of the male Romans. Her mutable shape and mutable identity—as mother/lover/goddess/ruler/ wife—support her ability to rule successfully. Although Cleopatra is never represented as pregnant, her pregnancies are desired both to ensure heirs and reaffirm her identity as fertility goddess. (176)

In Jankowski's view, then, Cleopatra "unites her natural and political bodies to control an enemy—Rome—and maintain the sovereignty of her kingdom" primarily by affirming and advertising her available fertility (161).

This is an insightful analysis of Cleopatra's "life affirming" mutability. It is also one that I would argue applies equally well to Pembroke's Cleopatra, especially if we shift the emphasis from strategically deployed sexuality to mutability more generally, a shift which in my view Shakespeare's play requires as much as Pembroke's does. On this point I differ from Jankowski, who says of Shakespeare's Cleopatra that her "strategies of seduction are the same as her strategies of rule" (149), and that Cleopatra "is forced to abandon ... her own theory of rule" when she chooses not to "attempt to use her sexuality to control Octavius" (163).[255] We may recall (as discussed in the previous chapter) that Shakespeare chooses to follow Pembroke's example rather than Daniel's in portraying a Cleopatra who refuses to try to seduce Octavius. I would argue that Shakespeare also follows Pembroke in representing this decision as evidence of strategically deployed strength. Indeed, it seems odd to me to represent Cleopatra's love and devotion to Antony as something that *forces* her "to abandon" anything. I would argue, rather, that Shakespeare's Cleopatra has abandoned nothing, for her use of her sexuality is just one example of the strategy that Jankowski herself astutely identifies elsewhere: the celebration of "mutability" that presents her body as "*complete*" but "in a way very different from the marble-constant Romans" (156, original emphasis).[256] An emphasis on mutability allows for the celebration of pregnancy and sexuality, but does not require it; this Shakespeare well knows; this Pembroke and Cary well know; this Pembroke's Cleopatra acts on, and this Mariam learns, but only in time to move Herod to repentance. Neither Pembroke's queen nor Cary's uses seduction as a strategy; nevertheless, each finds the performance of "infinite variety" to be a fertile one.[257]

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[255] On Jankowksi's reading, Cleopatra's "political tactics are based on sexual use of her body natural to serve her political purposes. … Since she has given her heart to Antony, she has, essentially, given away her body natural and removed it from service to her body politic. Thus, she is at a disadvantage when meeting Octavius, for she is without the major component of her political bargaining strategy. Cleopatra has to rely on her wits alone, without her sexuality, to subdue Octavius" (163).

[256] In fact, Jankowski's argument as quoted above rather undercuts her own conclusion that Cleopatra's "magnificent death scene convinces Octavius that Cleopatra died as a Queen … yet also as a lover" (163).

[257] Jankowski herself suggests something similar in the following astute observation: "This Queen's [*i.e.* Cleopatra's] fictions of herself as fertility goddess, great lover, and hoydenish drinking buddy support her rule as successfully as did Elizabeth I's fictions of Virgin Queen, court lady, and maternal defender of the realm. But while Elizabeth and Cleopatra both use fictions to establish and/or support their sovereignty, the fictions are tied to each ruler's different conceptions of the most effective way to use her body natural's sexuality to serve her body politic" (161). Obviously Elizabeth Tudor's conception "of the most effective way to use her body natural's sexuality" did not include pregnancy, though it did of course include a kind of seduction. Jankowski's emphasis on sex and pregnancy may also be read as a strategy for avoiding the question of whether identity itself may be as mutable as the (potentially pregnant) female body. Her constant references to Cleopatra's various self-representations as "fictions" suggest an essentialist bent: "Cleopatra's fictions can easily be seen as part of her political strategy. What allows this character to function so successfully within the world of her play—infinitely more successfully than Antony—is that she lives all of her fictions simultaneously, a talent she shares with Elizabeth I. She can be Venus on the Cydnus and a hoyden hopping through the streets of Alexandria *while* she is being Queen of Egypt. … Throughout the play she is always queen and lover simultaneously, yet she adds additional roles and varies them scene by scene" (161). This raises the question of what may be Cleopatra's *non*-fiction, her *truth*. In

Furthermore, Pembroke associates this strategy with sensuality just as much as Shakespeare does, even after the point at which Cleopatra chooses not to exercise her powers of seduction. Although Pembroke's Cleopatra may not flaunt her fertility as Shakespeare's queen of Egypt does, we need not conclude that Shakespeare's portrayal restores to Cleopatra a sensuality suppressed by Pembroke. On this point I follow Sanders and Ferguson, both of whom dispute Lamb's conclusion that Pembroke's translation represents an "unusual suppression of Cleopatra's sexual nature" (*Gender* 132).[258] The critical argument focuses on *Antonius*' closing lines:

> A thousand kisses, thousand thousand more
> Let you my mouth for honors farewell give;
> That in this office weake my limbes may growe
> Fainting on you, and fourth my soule may flowe. (5.2013-22)

In her reading of these lines, Lamb argues that Pembroke confines Cleopatra's expression of overt sexuality to this "eroticization of death," because "The intent to die well apparently cannot coexist with a desire for sexual love in one woman character" (*Gender* 132). However, Ferguson points out that these lines echo Catullus' well-known poem to Lesbia, and argues that *Antonius* "seems to include an element of baroque eroticism that Lamb does not fully explore" ("Sidney, Cary, Wroth" 489). Sanders argues compellingly that Pembroke

> ... chooses not to downplay but rather to heighten the eroticism of the queen's final soliloquy .... In focusing attention on her mouth, even the wetness of her mouth, and on the contact between her body and Antony's, she articulates the experience of sexual longing unfearfully. ... What Cleopatra desires is not death but sex with Antony. Sidney's Cleopatra has no immortal longings; loss moves her to desire Antony physically and to imagine making love to him, in the grave even. (115-16)

The fact that Pembroke's heroine and Shakespeare's both "scorn Caesar and choose to follow

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this project I argue that both Shakespeare and Pembroke portray a Cleopatra who knows her *truth* to lie in her very mutability.

[258] For reasons that will be more appropriately discussed in the following chapter, I also disagree with Dixon's assertion that "In this [Pembroke's] portrait, Cleopatra turns from her recumbent pose [*i.e.* her position as object of the male gaze] and spills her heart out—not to the audience exactly, but to the absent Antony. However, the cost of this shift from object to subject, from other to self, is her complete domestication. Cleopatra can't become a subject until she becomes a loyal English wife" (77).

Antony in death without bargaining at all with the emperor" does not at all mean that they scorn their sensuality at the last (Ferguson "Sidney, Cary, Wroth" 492).

What Pembroke's Cleopatra does scorn, as we have seen, is her companions' desire that she present a single, coherent image to Caesar, one in which there may be as little confusion between bodily interior and exterior, and as little evidence of the former as possible. Instead, Cleopatra rejects this impossible mandate and sends Dircitus to Antony with the instruction:

> Tell him, my soule burning, impatient,
> Forlorne with love of him, for certaine seale
> Of her true loialtie my corpse hath left
> T'encrease of dead the number numberlesse. (5.686-89)

Dircitus is asked here to picture himself convincingly representing a false scene to another character, which is moreover one with an incoherent image at its centre: body separated from soul, corpse becoming intermingled with and indistinguishable from "of dead the number numberlesse." Yet it is only through the duplicity of this strategy, central to which is the dissemination of numberless images of an unrecognizable body, that Cleopatra regains the love and faith of Antony, who has long known her as one who refuses to attempt or pretend to be knowable. Rather than betray Antony, claims Cleopatra at the beginning of her first monologue in Pembroke's script, she would prefer that "fierce *Tigers* feed them on my flesh: / Rather, ô rather let our *Nilus* send, / To swallow me quicke, some weeping *Crocodile*" (2.403-05). These alternatives invite Cleopatra's witnesses (Eras, Charmion, Diomede, the Chorus, and any audience of listeners or viewers) to hold in their mind's eye several incompatible images at once: that of Cleopatra's body opened and dismembered, divided into parts by tigers; that of her living ("quicke") body disappearing whole, consumed by a crocodile; and that of the speaking woman who conjures these other images as they watch. Furthermore, the "weeping *Crocodile*" is an emblem of hypocrisy, the crime of which Antony has accused Cleopatra and which she is here denying, and thus yet another (false) image of herself.

Cleopatra's strategy of self-representation, then, is to perform her integrity by presenting this quintessentially theatrical proliferation of incommensurable images. Although, like her, the Duchess of Malfi expects and welcomes the bodily changes that accompany her change in marital status, she perhaps mistakenly thinks it politic to disguise them. Mariam, in contrast to both these female characters, is one who has historically tried to resist mutability, has learnt to view physical inconsistencies with suspicion and distrust. The Duchess wants to believe that her disguise is adequate, that her viewers will believe her body to be unchanging; Mariam wants to believe that it is possible and desireable to be that marble woman of Herod's dream—to possess the single virtue, the virtue of singleness. She is blinded to the necessity of illegibility: blinded to the fact that it is both inevitable, and strategically useful. And she fears that changeability really is the same as infidelity. However, these are assumptions that Mariam comes to question; in fact the play begins with Mariam beginning to entertain the possibility that total self-consistency is impossible, and that change over time does not necessarily signify hypocrisy or duplicity.

In the play's first act, Mariam discovers that her feelings, like her body itself, have to them always another level and so can never be finally known, and that in part for this very reason her body is not her enemy but rather a reliable source of truth. The first truth Mariam's body confronts her with is that the thought of one man's face—Herod's—can produce on her own face at different times both smiles and tears. Although this discovery of her own lack of "constancy" distresses Mariam (1.1.24), Cary elicits our sympathy by focusing our attention at first on the admirable *in*constancy of that icon of masculine strength, Julius Cæsar. The oft-quoted opening line of the play foregrounds Mariam's guilt over her own too-public voice, but what critics generally neglect to note in their discussion of this line is that it is the question of Cæsar's "deceit" that Mariam reflects on, not her own:

> How oft have I with public voice run on
> To censure Rome's last hero for deceit:
> Because he wept when Pompey's life was gone,
> Yet when he liv'd, he thought his name too great.
> But now I do recant and, Roman lord,

> Excuse too rash a judgement in a woman:
> My sex pleads pardon, pardon then afford,
> Mistaking is with us but too too common.
> Now do I find by self-experience taught,
> One object yields both grief and joy:
> You wept indeed, when on his worth you thought,
> But joy'd that slaughter did your foe destroy.
> So at his death your eyes true drops did rain,
> Whom dead, you did not wish alive again. (1.1.1-14)

Despite her self-criticism, we may note that it is only "too rash a judgement" that Mariam even considers accusing herself of here. The stereotypically female sins of hypocrisy and deceit are ones she acknowledges having *wrongly* attributed to Caesar; her own error is, as she represents it, not one of duplicity but of interpretation, resulting from inappropriate expectations. By establishing Caesar as Mariam's model, then, Cary strategically lends credibility to Mariam's eventual plea: "And blame me not, for Herod's jealousy / Had power ev'n constancy itself to change" (1.2.23-24). If Caesar's inconstancy can be admirably honest, perhaps this woman's can as well.[259]

If Cary is attempting to elide gender differences in this scene, however, it does not mean that Mariam is. On the contrary, Mariam claims error as a characteristic of her sex: "Mistaking is with us but too, too common," she says, crediting Caesar and all those of his gender with superior understanding (1.1.8). This flattery is, however, undercut by the two lines that follow, which announce an important theme in this work: "Now do I find by self experience taught, / One object yields both grief and joy" (1.1.9-10). Here Mariam asserts her ability to learn the truth independently, in language that recalls Chaucer's Wife of Bath, who also finds the lessons of "experience" and "auctoritee" to be at odds with one another (WBT Pro. 1). If Mariam can learn the truth "by self experience," we may infer that the commonness of women's mistaking is due to the teachings of "auctoritee," rather than to some inherent inability to be wise. Because of her recent experience, Mariam now questions the authority of the equation she has been taught between moral integrity and coherence of mind and body. The mistake she confesses to here was her assumption that inconsistency or complexity must signify dishonesty, an assumption which despite her anxiety to be and seem virtuous she now recognizes to have been wrong.[260]

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[259] Although Mariam moves towards a rejection of certain current models of integrity, I do not mean to suggest that she ever moves towards a rejection of the possibility of sin. Avoiding it remains her constant focus throughout the play, and in some ways we may read her opening monologue as an example of the sort of religious self-examination so widely advocated and practised in the early modern era. As such, however, it contrasts ironically with the sort of rigid virtue preached by the Chorus, for without the right to be inconsistent, Mariam has no means of benefitting from her self-examination. After all, how can a woman improve herself (the object of most spiritual disciplines and of the study advised by most conduct books) if she cannot change? Accordingly, Mariam apologizes for having mistaken Caesar, but not for changing her mind about him, which she describes with a term belonging to the discourse of spiritual self-improvement: "recant" (1.1.5). Nevertheless, it is wrong opinion that Mariam recants—it is not wrong behaviour, or temptation to wrong behaviour, that she repents. For all her self-doubt and moral second-guessing, the possibility of physical sin—*i.e.* sexual transgression—does not appear to worry Cary's heroine. Of her chastity she has never any doubt. Her self-examination is, then, most unusual, for it is not bent on exposing her body's secret desires to stray; rather, it is guided by her body's signs.

Yet as Cary makes clear, this is an assumption that Mariam comes by honestly, for her mother, Alexandra, is an articulate spokesperson for the virtue of consistency. Cary's Alexandra places great stock in the power and the possibility of a single, coherent image. Indeed, she closely resembles Herod in how threatened she is by any reminder that a woman may not be able, or may not wish, to imitate such an image. Alexandra's lengthy narrative of her failed attempt to "woo" Felicity's [*i.e.* good fortune's] "love" recounts an episode that is not found in Cary's primary source, and may therefore be considered an important source of information about the author's artistic concerns. For the dowager queen's story about the time she sent both a picture of Mariam and one of her brother to Marc Antony makes explicit Alexandra's commitment to a particular representational mode, and helps to explain her suspicious impatience with her daughter:

> With double sleight I sought to captivate
> The warlike lover, but I did not right:
> For if my gift had borne but half the rate,
> The Roman had been overtaken quite.
> But now he farèd like a hungry guest,
> That to some plenteous festival is gone;

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[260] The fact that Mariam is ready to turn to experience instead of "auctoritee" for guidance may be signalled simply in the fact that she enters the stage empty-handed—at least, Cary gives no indication that Mariam has a book or anything else in her hand. Nevertheless, there is much to recommend the production Schafer's production (see Introduction 25, n. 44) in which Mariam herself recited the Choric odes. She could well be reading from a conduct manual. In her struggle with the discourses of chastity Mariam may be read as representing those gently-bred early modern women raised to practice what Sanders calls "the chastity-through-busy-work form of literacy recommended by Juan Luis Vives and Richard Hyrd as a technique for female self-fashioning" (89).

> Now this, now that, he deems to eat were best,
> Such choice doth make him let them all alone.
> The boy's large forehead first did fairest seem,
> Then glanc'd his eye upon my Mariam's cheek:
> And that without comparison did deem,
> What was in either but he most did like,
> And thus distracted, either's beauty's might
> Within the other's excellence was drown'd:
> Too much delight did bare him from delight,
> For either's love the other's did confound.
> Where if thy portraiture had only gone,
> His life from Herod, Anthony had taken,
> He would have lovèd thee, and thee alone,
> And left the brown Egyptian clean forsaken .... (1.2.171-90)

According to Josephus, Herod's mother and sister "were set on fire" by Mariam's "sharp reproachful words." In order to "move Herod against her, they accused her of adultery, and of many other things which bore a show of truth, objecting against her that she had sent her portraiture into Egypt unto Antonius; and that through immoderate lust, she did what she could to make herself known unto him" (qtd in Hodgson-Wright 160). Cary takes this slander, makes it true, attributes the act of portrait-sending to Alexandra rather than Mariam, and doubles the number of portraits, thereby creating an *excessive* "show of truth."

The only reliable information we may learn from Alexandra here, however, is that she is afraid of such excess. None of the details she so vividly (one could even say obsessively) recalls tells us anything about what really happened when Mark Antony saw the two portraits; Alexandra cannot possibly know what he felt or thought at the time, let alone what he "would have" done "if" Mariam's "portraiture had only gone." This scene of the triumvir's confounding is pure fantasy on her part. But it is a fantasy that tells us a great deal about Alexandra's theory of representation, about the scopic regime she has learned to survive in, and about Cary's perception of the anxiety some people experience at the unrestrained proliferation of images. It is, in Alexandra's view, the presence of competing images that can lead to a person's "distraction," which in its early modern sense means not inattention but irrationality and madness.[261] "Too much delight did bare [bar] him from delight," asserts Alexandra; perhaps, as well, she fears that too much information did bar him from rational understanding. Furthermore, within the world of Herod's palace Alexandra's fantasy is far from groundless, for as we have seen it is "Mariam's cheek" as painted that Herod likes best to glance his eye upon. However, Alexandra's speech here also marks the growing division between her and her daughter. By this point in the play Mariam has already begun to appreciate the infinite virtues of variety.

I am not, of course, the first to read Mariam as one who finds the authoritative teachings of her culture—as represented here by her mother—inadequate to her situation. On this subject, most critics focus on the Choric odes that end each act rather than on Alexandra; nevertheless, Weller and Ferguson's discussion of "The Chorus and Conventional Wisdom" is foundational to my argument, which builds on their observation that "the disparity between the moral adages of the Chorus and the experience of the heroine (and perhaps, by extension, the bad fit between conventional wisdom and the experience of all women) seems the very heart of Cary's dramatic vision" (38). What I would add is that, specifically, Mariam needs to learn to resist the conventional wisdom about her body's unpredictable volatility, which she has been taught to fear and mistrust, and to reclaim responsibility for knowing herself. This objective is directly counter to the advice of the act 3 Chorus, which argues that a woman's relationship to her body should be limited to one of control and constraint: she should put her energy into worrying about how she appears to others, so that "from suspicion she should free her life" (3.CHOR.217). Furthermore, the Chorus suggests that a woman's surface appearance is her only legitimate concern: enquiring within is the responsibility of her husband. In asking the rhetorical question, "When to their husbands they themselves do bind, / Do they not wholly give themselves away?" and answering it with "No sure, their thoughts no more can be their own, / And therefore should to none but one be known," the Chorus purports to advise women to *share* their thoughts only with their husband. However, if a scrupulous student were to try to follow the Chorus's advice to the letter, her thoughts would "to none but one [*i.e.* her husband] be known": they would not even be known to herself (3.CHOR.233-34, 237-38). In Mariam's world, *Nosce te ipsum* is advice given only to men.

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[261] It is also a word with violent roots, coming from the Latin *distrahere*, "pull asunder." In its earliest, now obsolete, sense, to "distract" meant "To draw asunder or apart; to separate, divide (lit. and fig.)" (*OED*). Alexandra imagines Antony as Actaeon; his integrity depends on his visual attention not being divided.

At this particular moment, however, Mariam has no husband to whom she may make her thoughts known. In the absence of this authoritative interpreter, and in the presence of several others who continue to "discover" feelings in her that she is sure she does not possess (such as adulterous desire or murderous intent), Mariam is challenged to reconsider some of her most foundational assumptions about herself and about the performance of virtue, and to look to her body for answers that conventional wisdom does not provide. On a literal reading, the "object" that "yields both grief and joy" in her opening soliloquy is Herod. But the larger context also makes clear that, in experiencing and expressing "both grief and joy" at once, Mariam too becomes illegible as an object of others' viewing—or her own. As a result, she becomes a cause of anxiety to all who expect her to be coherent and consistent, beginning with herself. Her earlier "censure" of Caesar had been grounded in her assumption that no virtuous person could behave so inconsistently; discovering that hate and grief can coexist in herself now teaches Mariam not to assume that mixed messages in another must necessarily mean that one of those messages is a lie. And Mariam is immediately—and strongly—affected by this discovery. Literally, this new idea gives her pause. That important line, "One object yields both grief and joy," contains only eight syllables; it is a full metrical foot short, most unusual in this well-crafted blank verse tragedy. Although offering us a multiplicity of interpretations, the line is nevertheless incomplete, with an abrupt, jarring end that challenges the reader to consider what more might remain unseen and unsaid. I am reminded of the motto on the 1579 Sieve Portrait discussed in Chapter One: *Tutto* *vedo & molto mancha*. Here we read all the line, yet much is missing.[262] Mariam's humility in this monologue, then, the tone of bewildered amazement, reflects her partial recognition of the failure of her mother's and her own model of female virtue. What she is starting to learn about its performance depends entirely on this new lesson: that making oneself or another see double does not necessarily imply duplicity.[263] What she continues to cling to, however, is her tragic conviction that it should be easy "from suspicion" to "free her life."

In dramatizing the informative illegibility of the human object, Cary chooses to focus Mariam's attention and ours on those parts of the body that are most prone to betraying the body's attempt to imitate a painting: mouths that will open, eyes that will weep, parts that will not stay still, surfaces that will not remain intact. Pembroke's focus in *Antonius* is similar, as we have seen; Diomede begs Cleopatra to stop crying; Antony responds with hysteria to the image of his own conjuring, Cleopatra's pursuing eyes. In Cary's play, as we shall see, Alexandra responds with condemnation to the sight of Mariam's flowing tears, and Salome responds to the same sight with equal condemnation, though her interpretation is completely different from Alexandra's. If mistakes are "common," their common source is the human body, all those things a living body does that make it so very hard to judge. Let there be no question that, in both these closet dramas, the body matters.

And the matter of poetry, according to Cary, is as difficult to contain as the fluid matter of the body; it is as likely to spill over limits as it is to stop short of expectations. In a move completely counter to that made by Daniel in *Delia* (as discussed in the previous chapter), Cary stresses in *Mariam*'s first scene the inadequacy of literary form to completely contain a coherent argument. The first fourteen lines of *Mariam*, quoted above, constitute a sonnet,[264] but its content hardly follows Petrarchan conventions, even though it begins and ends with references to the two facial features that cause so much interpretive difficulty throughout this play and that are frequently the subject of praise in the Petrarchan mode: mouth and eyes.[265] Tears, too, have a way of running on, of exceeding set bounds, and Mariam's analysis of them here runs on past the boundary of the sonnet. For one thing, although the mouth is Mariam's, the eyes are Cæsar's, and neither is the object of the speaker's praise. Mariam's initial acknowledgement of her spilling words she immediately counters with the image of Cæsar's spilling tears. Indeed, within these fourteen lines Mariam refers to Caesar's tears three different times (lines 3, 11, and 13); she does not refer to her own tears until line thirty-four.[266] By that point, she has established that in Cæsar, at least, these signs of either emotional unreliability or manipulative insincerity are, in fact, "true drops," a paradoxical image emphasized by the spondee the noun phrase creates. Both "true" and "drops" must be equally stressed, equally acknowledged. The paradox is further emphasized by the rhyme scheme, for here—the closing lines of the sonnet—Cary uses a rhyming couplet instead of the *abab* quatrain form that is her default mode. We must hold in our minds, as she finds she must, two contradictory truths: "So at his death your eyes true drops did rain, / Whom dead, you did not wish alive again" (1.1.13-14). Those drops are tears, and despite all evidence to the contrary they are "true."

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[262] Alternatively, one could read it with both syllables of "object" stressed, which would supply the requisite five stressed syllables. However, because this alternate scansion assigns stress to three consecutive syllables, producing a metre which is (emphatically) not iambic, it is likely to be discovered (or invented) on a second reading of the line only, after the iambic-assuming reader has come up short. The line thus demonstrates how one (metrical) object can yield two very different interpretations.

[263] I do not, however, mean to argue for a straightforward narrative of character development. Rather, hers is a fluid and contingent subjectivity, fashioned in part by the words and actions of others. As the wife of a living Herod, Mariam *is* a different person from who she was that morning—a discovery with implications she spends the rest of the play working out.

Once this is determined, Mariam is able to acknowledge that she follows Cæsar's example, lachrymal as well as verbal:

> But now his [Herod's] death to memory doth call
> The tender love that he to Mariam bare:

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[264] As others have pointed out—see especially Nancy Gutierrez.

[265] It is also worth nothing that the rhyme scheme of Cary's sonnet is English, not Petrarchan, but I am not sure we can point to this fact alone as strong evidence of her rejection of Petrarchan convention, as it was not uncommon to adapt the Petrarchan style to this other rhyme scheme more congenial to the English language.

[266] The text, however, does not explicitly prescribe the point at which the actor playing Mariam should begin to weep. In performance, it would be entirely defensible for the actor playing Mariam to begin the scene in tears, drawing the viewer's attention to her *mimesis* of Caesar much sooner than l. 24.

> And mine to him; this makes those rivers fall,
> Which by another thought unmoisten'd are. (1.1.31-34)

She is able to learn truths about herself from her own body's mixed messages.[267] Furthermore, Mariam also describes her tears as "those rivers [that] fall" or stop falling depending on her "thought": the mind's motions are registered by the body without the mind's conscious control.[268] For all these reasons the tears are to be acknowledged and understood as an expression of Mariam's mind, rather than ignored or contained as aspects of her fallen physical self, as enemies to her immaterial soul, or as threats to the poetic unities.

From this point on, as we shall see, Mariam increasingly resembles Pembroke's Cleopatra in refusing to consent to seek too settled a state in scenes that challenge the very possibility of doing so. Despite the pressure exerted by others—her mother and husband in particular—to be unproblematically legible, Mariam eventually rejects such self-representation as Alexandra and Herod both demand. In response to Sohemus's rebuke, "The heart by affability is won" (3.3.150), she responds, "I know I could enchain him with a smile: / And lead him captive with a gentle word" (3.3.163-64). But this confidence does not stop her from questioning, "And must I to my prison turn again?" (3.3.151). Mariam comes to recognize that fixing her body into that permanent smile, limiting her speech to that which Herod dictates, makes her as much a "captive" as it does him. Nevertheless, she is still quite determined to be and seem completely virtuous, and Cary leaves us in some doubt whether Mariam ever fully understands just how futile is her quest for the perfectly successful performance of female coherence, just how much danger Mariam herself is in from the fact that others are as incapable as she is of always reading another aright, or rather are too insistent on there being a right reading.[269] But inconsistency (with integrity) is what Cary insists on. Although I do not entirely agree with Weller and Ferguson that the play is split structurally in two; as I have said, any attempt to read the play as a narrative of character development according to modern expectations is radically challenged by events in act 3, which constitute for Mariam a *second* complete reversal of attitude. Having been caught off guard once already by a change in feelings, Mariam struggles to make sense of her newly-recognized love for Herod in the play's opening scene, a scene which works hard to earn our respect for Mariam's new position. According to her best understanding at the time, "Hate hid his true affection from my sight, / And kept my heart from paying him his debt" (1.1.21-22). But Cary reverses this imagery in Mariam's lament to Sohemus in act 3, following the news of Herod's imminent return, by which Mariam is again caught off guard:

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[267] It is also worth noting that the body Mariam describes here possesses the "rivers" of a continent rather than the parts of a machine.

[268] I am influenced in my reading of this passage by Sawday's comments on the "House of Alma" episode in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*: "Spenser's view of the matter was that there was no real distinction between body and mind, since, as he imagined his knights discovering in their journey through themselves, both body and mind could be particularized ....The mind, too, could exhibit itself on the surface of the individual's body (the blushes of confusion experienced by the knights) in ways which were uncontrollable by the human subject. The best that could be hoped for, in order to maintain the social fabric of identity,was concealment" (*Body* 170).

> Oh, now I see I was an hypocrite:
> I did this morning for his death complain,
> And yet do mourn, because he lives, ere night.
> When I his death believ'd, compassion wrought,
> And was the stickler 'twixt my heart and him:
> But now that curtain's drawn from off my thought,
> Hate doth appear again with visage grim:
> And paints the face of Herod in my heart,
> In horrid colours with detested look .... (3.3.34-41)

How are we to believe now that Mariam "was an hypocrite" to express sorrow at Herod's death, having been so feelingly persuaded otherwise at the play's outset? Is hate merely a curtain hiding "true affection," or is love the "curtain" hiding true hate? I would suggest that the question Cary is challenging us to ask here may well be, instead, What is the heart itself, but another surface? In new circumstances come new self-discoveries; depths reveal themselves to be surfaces underneath which are more surfaces, endlessly proliferating, all of them equally "true."

Mariam's self-accusation in this passage, her naming of herself as "hypocrite," exemplifies the interpretive drive of all the inhabitants of Herod's palace. At the same time, her series of sincere changes of heart, indistinguishable from moments of self-recognition, constitute a series of scenes with the strong potential to foreground and resist the viewer's own interpretive drive. A fundamental principle of this dramatic text, in my view, is that performing incoherence, insisting upon the permeable and ever-changing surface, is a far more effective means for intervening in the interpretive narratives others reiterate than arguing, for arguing reproduces the structures of power, whereas refusing "whole coherent representation" puts the "spectator's act of narrativizing … in crisis" (Diamond, "Refusing" 96). The lessons Mariam learns provide her with strategies for influencing how she is read by others, as we shall see; to a considerable extent these are Cary's own strategies from the play's outset. Some of these strategies I address in my final chapter.

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[269] This is a goal which the play itself suggests can never be fully achieved. For instance, even after Herod's spectacular repentance, Doris's hatred remains unappeased, her accusations unanswered.

# Chapter Four

## The Sacrifice of Spectacle

EPILOGUE. *Spoken by Mariamne.*
*I* Who by *Herod's* Iealous Wrath was Slain,
Can by your Kindness be Reviv'd again.
I, who Undaunted dyed, now Trembling come,
Fearing your Breath, more than a Tyrants Doom.
If you but smile, let him still rage, and frown:
Your Friendship'*s* valued more than *Herod*'s Crown.
But if I cannot so much favour win,
Come but to Morrow, and I'le dye agen.
– Samuel Pordage, *Herod and Mariamne*, 1673

### INTRODUCTION: VIEWING/VIOLENCE

In 1671, Samuel Pordage brought a new version of the story of Herod and Mariam to the Restoration stage. Elizabeth Howe cites "his melodramatic *Herod and Mariamne*" in her discussion of what she has termed the "couch scene," a popular feature of Restoration theatre:

> Pordage used the pose to excess in his ... lurid portrayal of the excesses of that biblical tyrant. In the first act Mariamne, the wife of Herod, is "*discover'd lying on a Couch*" while her desperate lover, Tyridates, declares his passion for her. In Act IV, more sensationally, she appears at first "*lying on a Couch sleeping*" and being watched lasciviously by Herod, and then in a horrible reversal of this appears on the same couch soon after, beheaded. (41)[270]

Pordage includes other scenes, as well, that are designed to invite the spectator to emulate Herod's lascivious inspection. In the first "couch scene," Mariamne's fearful recoil at the discovery of Tyridates's presence clearly indicates that she anticipates rape: "Defend me Heav'n; what's this I here behold! / One of my Guard so Impudent and Bold!" (1.6). The *audience* is invited to anticipate rape at the close of act 2 scene 3:

> **Third Scene, a Bed-Chamber.**
> HEROD. We will retire---my heart brooks no delay:
> I fain wou'd Homage at Loves Altar pay;
> Where am'rous Flame the Heart of *Herod* burns.
> MARIAMNE. And my sad Heart with hidden sorrow Mourns. *aside*
> *Herod leads the Queen out. Exe. Omnes.* (2.3)

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[270] In the 1673 edition I consulted, the couch scenes Howe refers to are actually 1.6, 5.2, and 5.7.

This anticipation is then rewarded in act 3 scene 2d [*sic*] when Herod attempts to force himself on Mariamne:

> HEROD. *Offers to Embrace her*
> MARIAMNE. *I* will accept no Kindness Sir from you---
> HEROD. *I* will not be deny'd---
> MARIAMNE. But Sir, you must. (3.2)

Physical violence and sexual titillation are again, in classic Restoration manner, combined in Salome's repeated suicide, not done right until she has stripped "open" some of her clothing:

> SALOME. *Stabs her self.*
> *Enter Sosius, Pheroras, Arsanes, and Attendants.*
> Ha! must my death admit of Lookers on!
> *Tares open her Bosom, and stabs agen.* (5.7)

Finally, the play ends with the actor playing Mariamne reassuring her audience that her death "must" indeed "admit of Lookers on": the Epiloque that I quote as epigraph to this chapter consists of a disturbingly flirtatious offer to "dye agen" in order to earn the audience's "favour."

As Elin Diamond points out (discussed in the Introduction to this project), the plays of Aphra Behn similarly feature frequent, provocative, "discovery scenes," but unlike Behn's plays Pordage's *Herod and Mariamne* does not interrogate what Diamond calls "the commodity status" of his heroines (55), or in any way challenge the viewer's illusion of authoritative possession. Pordage includes more than one scene in which characters read and interpret both paintings and people, never problematically (see, for instance, act 1 scene 1 and act 2 scene 4). The play's turning point occurs in act 3 scene 1 when Salome, already furious at Tyridates for rejecting her, spies him kneeling at Mariamne's feet. She concludes from this quick sight that the two are in love with each other—and Pordage proves her right! One of Mariamne's last speeches is her confession to Tyridates that "Had I been free, and at my own dispose, / I before all had *Tyridates* chose" (4.3). In every possible way, then, Pordage insists that his audience take pleasure in what they see, in their right to see it, and in the unquestioned rightness of their seeing. As Diamond suggests, "the scopic regime of illusionism" in the Restoration period "fed the hunger for greater stage realism" (53). It fed other hungers at the same time.

We may recall that the ending of Daniel's *Cleopatra* constitutes a sort of "couch scene" as well, but *Antonius* and *Mariam* resist all that Pordage was soon to insist that his audience take for granted. Throughout this project I have been arguing that both closet dramas are designed to deny pleasure not to the actor but to the spectator, in part by offering to view a body that insists on its unfixability. In the Introduction, I assert that both Pembroke and Cary are very concerned with shattering the illusion that anyone speaks from an unchanging and unchallengeable position, an illusion on which injurious speech depends for its felicity. In this chapter, I consider Cary's dramatization of women's struggle for self-possession and self-expression in her tragedy's opening scenes, and I argue that these scenes collectively constitute a resistance to injurious speech effected through an iteration that exposes how imperfectly achieved is the speaker's authority to condemn, and how complicit is the witness in establishing that authority. I then consider resistance to injury from a different perspective, reading the closing acts of *Antonius* and *Mariam* in the context of early modern narratives of triumphant female martyrdom (including both Pembroke's translation of Petrarch's dream vision, *The Triumph of Death*, and eyewitness accounts of executions). I argue that both Pembroke and Cary draw on the discourse of martyrdom in scripting eye-witness accounts that witness to the queenly bearing and courage of women whose willingness to face death permits celebration of a heroism that is both physically courageous and dutifully submissive without being gendered as either masculine or feminine. Central to both authors' strategy is the dialectical image, the "configuration pregnant with tensions" (Benjamin, "Thesis XVII" 262). Not "Reviv'd again" as Pordage's Mariamne is, to "Trembling come" before her audience for judgement, Pembroke's Cleopatra and Cary's Mariam are at play's end fully dead and entirely alive at once: perpetually "Undaunted," because irreducible to spectacle.

## A: "ABOUT THE SPECTATORS": *MARIAM* AND THE BLOCKING OF ACTION

> But what of theatre, and its relation to the feminine spectacle—parade or fetish—and to the body? to desire? to fantasy? What can this scene that opens and closes before us, in its intermittancy, its shifting geometry, tell us about the body as spectacle? What can it tell us about the spectators, the gendered subjects who are addressed, however obliquely, and therefore set in place by the spectacle? - Sharon Willis, p. 79

In Cary's *Mariam*, the women just will not hold still. They do not keep their place, and they frustrate their viewers' desire to be, to use Sharon Willis's phrase, "set in place by the spectacle." Instead, Cary's dramatic text calls for a production that opens with a sequence of short scenes featuring much coming and going, much talking and talking back, and also much looking—and looking back. For the pressure on women to strike such poses as Pordage was to offer to his audience was not unknown to Cary, as we have seen.[271] Nor is Cary only concerned with the voyeuristic pleasures that putting the female body on view can offer to male spectators, although this is certainly one of her central concerns. More generally, however, Cary examines in *Mariam* the consequences to women of living in a place where a woman can expect to be fixed and framed from any direction at any time. This is also a place where everyone—male and female—makes the same assumptions about the beautiful woman's legibility and the viewer's incontrovertible right to read it. Furthermore, because such staging calls our attention to the demands viewers make on the bodies of those they view, and makes drama of the normally unconscious business of framing an actor, the audience itself is or can be "staged" by this play, "as much as it is staged for us." I quote here an assertion Willis makes regarding not *Mariam* but Cixous's post-modern *Portrait of Dora*. However, *Mariam* too is a text that, in production, can "call[] our attention to its enunciative apparatus, place[] us within the scene as well, force[] us to find our position mapped there" (Willis 91). Through the entrances, exits, stops and starts so precisely inscribed in this dramatic text, Cary dramatizes how injurious are the assumption of authority and the demand for legibility that characterize and constitute the frame-assuming gaze. This is a gaze that refuses interpretation, refuses to acknowledge that it does not already see and understand all.

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[271] The script does call for Mariam to be imprisoned on stage in act 4 scene 8, but Cary does not even here offer Mariam's body as spectacle to either another character or to the audience. From its opening line the scene problematizes legibility and recognition ("Am I the Mariam that presum'd so much?" [4.8.1]); the person who sneaks up on Mariam without being seen is no lascivious lover but her fiercest enemy, Doris. Furthermore, even after Doris makes her presence known, Mariam cannot tell who is speaking or whether she is even human ("What art thou that dost poor Mariam pursue, / Some spirit sent to drive me to despair? / Who sees for truth that Mariam is untrue?" [4.8.579-81]). This entire scene could well be played in the dark, just like the torture scene in *The Duchess of Malfi*.

Despite the fact, then, that I acknowledge and celebrate how much action Cary calls for in *Mariam*, and how central the topic of female agency is to this play, I come to a significantly different conclusion from Hodgson-Wright on the question of whether the opening scenes of *Mariam* may unproblematically be said to establish "the new found freedom which everyone (but particularly the women) have found now that Herod is believed to be dead" (20). On my reading, the performance inscribed in the text of *Mariam*'s opening scenes consists of a series of *attempts* at freedom in space and *attempts* at freedom from the fixing, judging gaze, each successively thwarted or redirected by an act of intrusive viewing. In the play's opening scenes, women and men alike perform authority by passing judgement on the woman viewed, whether with approval or, most commonly, condemnation. As a consequence, Mariam finds herself at the intersection of too many crossed vectors, caught in a veritable crossfire of conflicting names *and* conflicting positionings. And Graphina, who thinks herself safe under an approving gaze, finds herself the complicit witness to Mariam's destruction.[272]

Because "the feminine spectacle" is literally approached from so many angles, furthermore, all the action Cary calls for, all the deictics she provides, nevertheless fail to establish a well-defined physical or social space. Rather, the physical and social space that we would expect the stage (or other performance space) to represent is disconcertingly ill-defined. In fact, the problems this script poses to any director or set-designer committed to proscenium-framed naturalistic tragedy are legion. Where, exactly, do all the encounters of act 1 take place? Is this a public or private space? Has it any well-defined boundaries? Who owns it, and who is entitled to take possession of it? How is the place Mariam chooses for her private reflections (if she does choose) also the place that Salome chooses for her illicit rendezvous, as well as a place into which Alexandra and Constabarus both can enter freely?[273] When Mariam and Alexandra leave at the end of the third scene, to where are they going, and in what way can that or any other place in the palace be different from this one? Does Mariam enjoy even the limited control over her environment that the early modern women readers of a closet drama must have enjoyed for at least as long as it takes to read a play? Where, exactly, does Mariam stand? All we know for sure is that the space Mariam occupies is one that is subject to being entered into, suddenly, violently, and authoritatively by—it seems—anyone who wants. Mariam is continually positioned in a space simultaneously constructed as one over which and in which she has no power. Furthermore, it is a space that whoever enters will find to be always already possessed by that voice of authoritative cliché, the Chorus. In such a world, eloquence is only tolerated if it serves the current regime. And no amount of wit or wisdom from the tongue of a woman can change how people choose to look at her. What Cary offers in argument's stead is resistance through reiteration, reiteration of the type that Butler imagines "might disjoin the speech act from its supporting conventions such that its repetition confounds rather than consolidates its injurious efficacy" (*Speech* 20). When the language and the gestures of injury are repeated, but the names the injured body is called differ, or the same name is given to different bodies, then the authorizing ritual that gives injury its force is itself the subject of the performance; then both the threatener's and the viewer's illusions of mastery are exposed.

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[272] Unlike the representations of Elizabeth Tudor we considered in Chapter One, which emphasize the fact that no viewer can claim an authoritative point of view while representing her glory as being recognizable from any point of view, none of these angles of approach, these perspectives, is under Mariam's control; each reading is literally from a different point of view; each reader considers his or her authoritative judgement to be absolutely correct. And all—as the audience comes to realize as the act unfolds—are more or less mistaken.

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[273] In teaching *Mariam*, Laurie Maguire asks her students similar questions regarding the first scene: "Mariam needs privacy. Where would she go? Where can a queen go to be alone? A palace courtyard? A dressing room? Obviously Mariam is somewhere where she can be accessed because Alexandra interrupts her thoughts. We imagine the scene taking place on an unlocalized Jacobean stage but with props that suggest a domestic interior such as a bedroom or a dressing room" (96). I agree that these are crucial questions, but do not think that any one answer can fully accommodate all the scenes of act 1.

In this project's second chapter, I discuss Mariam's struggle for self-mastery, in the sense that she wishes to fully understand her own feelings. But, as Cary dramatizes, Mariam's struggle to read herself cannot be considered separately from her struggle to escape the controlling gaze through which she has always but slenderly known herself. In *Mariam*'s opening monologue, we may recall, Mariam learns from her body that "One object yields both grief and joy" (1.1.10). The rest of act 1 is structured to ensure that the audience learns a similar lesson: one woman's face can yield numerous, incompatible, readings and their own point of view is only one among many.[274] As an "object" of view to others, Cary's Mariam herself "yields both grief and joy," is subject to a multiplicity of conflicting interpretations. This is partly due to her tears as we have seen, targets of suspicion because signs of illegibility. But it is also the consequence of Mariam's lack of control over who gets to look at her and how. Each of the first two scenes of *Mariam* ends with Cary's protagonist attempting movement, attempting to move out of the field of vision of another woman. In both cases this attempt at self-possession is foiled by the new arrival onto the scene, whose injurious performance of Mariam's total legibility fixes her in place. However, the two readings of the queen, each claiming complete authority for the reader, come from two completely different points of view—both literally and figuratively. Each is injurious to Mariam in its impossible demand for fixity, a demand that Mariam has just been learning *not* to make of herself: each attacks what not only cannot be helped but is essential to life: the constant movement of breath, words, and bodily fluids between the exterior and the uncontainable interior of a woman's body. Together they offer comprehensive and completely incompatible narrativizations of the same object: Mariam's face.

After her soliloquy's lengthy and subtle analysis of the complexity of Caesar's grief and her own (discussed in the previous chapter), the sight of her mother causes Mariam to shift to a consideration of the utter lack of subtlety with which she knows her weeping eyes and moaning mouth will be read by another:

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[274] Maguire considers this line "a key to the scene (and the play)" (96).

> But tears fly back and hide you in your banks,
> You must not be to Alexandra seen,
> For if my moan be spied, but little thanks
> Shall Mariam have from that incensèd Queen. (1.1.75-78)

Her reaction conveys recognition, the desire for concealment, and anticipated misrecognition all at once: Mariam sees Alexandra coming, knows Alexandra will soon see her, and braces herself for the coming sighting, which is also the coming judgement. And there it is: Alexandra's first words are, "What means [*sic*] these tears? My Mariam doth mistake. / The news we heard did tell the tyrant's end!" (1.2.1-2). These lines, with which act 1 scene 2 opens, echo the first scene's opening lines in their concern with Mariam's mistakes, a concern provoked by the evidence of tears and talk. But the first scene establishes Mariam's tears of grief, commingled with those of remorse, as the "true drops" that perform the correction of her earlier mistake; to Alexandra, however, they *are* the mistake. In the latter's view (upon her swift and summary view), the very fact of tears is evidence of error. Unlike Mariam's questions of herself, Alexandra's question here is rhetorical: she admits uncertainty only to deny it, begins a conversation only to conclude it. Her demand for interpretation refuses all answers but the one Alexandra herself provides. It also literally refuses Mariam any physical position other than the one of fixed object of Alexandra's authoritative gaze, a position that Mariam clearly experiences as injurious and seeks unsuccessfully here to resist. For Mariam's attempt to hide her tears is also an attempt at mobility, an attempt to move from one position, in which her "moan" may "be spied," to another, in which it may not. The passage calls for the actor playing Mariam to move physically at this point, not only to choke back her tears but also to change the position of her body relative to that of the approaching Alexandra. But her attempt at privacy is thwarted by Alexandra's intrusive entrance: the newcomer's first words perform her power to stop Mariam in her tracks.

Lest we be tempted to read Alexandra's own error as evidence of an individual (or familial) character flaw, the following scene strongly suggests just how "common" is Alexandra's kind of "mistaking": it would appear that all the women of rank in Herod's palace do to each other as they are done to. As act 1 scene 3 opens, Salome enters and gives both Alexandra and Mariam the same treatment that the former has just given the latter (treatment that, moreover, Salome herself will receive from others in subsequent scenes). The play's second scene ends as the one before it does, with the announced intention of movement from one place to another less public: "Let us retire us," Alexandra exhorts her daughter, "that we may resolve / How now to deal in this reversèd state" (1.2.125-26). Once again, however, the attempt at privacy is thwarted, this time by the abrupt approach of Salome. Alexandra's "state" is "reversèd" by another's arrival: suddenly, she is behind the frame instead of before it. Again, the new arrival begins with an unanswerable question; again, the moment of sight is the moment of judgement, although completely different from the previous one. Again, the newly arrived judge reads the crime in the offenders' mouths and eyes, both dangerously running on:

> SALOME. More plotting yet? Why? Now you have the thing
> For which so oft you spent your suppliant breath.
> And Mariam hopes to have another king.
> Her eyes do sparkle joy for Herod's death. (1.3.1-4)

And again, it is the intrusive newcomer who "doth mistake." The audience knows what Salome does not recognize: that the "sparkle" in Mariam's eyes is caused by tears. Although Salome and Alexandra interpret Mariam's "sparkle" completely differently from one another, both condemn her for it, and both are completely sure of their judgement. Ironically, each woman criticizes Mariam for possessing an attitude that the other would have approved. What they agree on is that any sign of flux must be condemned. In Mariam's world, as the rest of act 1 dramatizes, this is a way of seeing that is repeatedly practised by people jealously guarding their power.

But if fixity is impossible and flux automatically condemned, if one's appearance is being continually interpreted by viewers who deny the subjectivity of their interpretation, how can one argue with how one is read? What follows Salome's entrance in scene 3 is the first of many fierce debates in this play by two characters competing for their right to read Mariam's features. Furthermore, unlike Herod's argument with Salome in act 4 over their readings of Mariam's cheek, here the subject of the debate is present and, not fully or finally silenced, finds some opportunity to defend herself. Thus by the end of the scene all three women are competing for the right to read each other, while attacking each other's right to do so. But since their argument assumes the body's intelligibility, Mariam's first attempt in the play to resist another's interpretive authority ends badly.

Salome and Alexandra both begin with Mariam's eyes, which because they spill over with tears attract all viewers' critical attention, but they do not stop there. To further support her critical reading of both Mariam and Alexandra, Salome also attacks her opponents' loose tongues. "You durst not thus have given your tongue the rein, / If noble Herod still remained in life," she accuses Alexandra (1.3.13-14). She then observes condemningly of Mariam, "Now stirs the tongue that is so quickly moved" (1.3.21). According to Salome, Alexandra's and Mariam's collective crime begins with their act of speaking to one another, and they compound their crime by talking back to their accuser. Alexandra's return accusation also relies on the discourse of the disordered body, this time the body politic: "Come, Mariam," says she, "let us go, it is no boot / To let the head contend against the foot" (1.3.53-54). With this comment Alexandra performs her right to read Salome by reading her as out of place, her criticisms as out of order. And the insult does appear to silence Salome long enough to purchase the targets of her attack some liberty to move, for Alexandra now leaves, with Mariam in tow (or in custody). In three scenes this is the third departure attempted, and the first to be sucessfully carried out. But as we find out in the scene immediately following, Salome has her own reason to remain where she is and allow her enemies to leave the field of their engagement—for now. Alexandra's attack has in fact only escalated the conflict. Furthermore, she has both revealed and reinforced the anxiety inherent in the discourse that positions the speaker as authoritative viewer of a transgressive other. For

Alexandra's invocation of "head" and "foot" in the current unstable situation with Herod (believed) dead reminds us that Palestine currently has no "head" and that, consequently, no one currently has a sure place in the chain of command. Even Alexandra's most deliberate attempt to reassert hierarchy reveals her own uncertainty about her place, for the ambiguous syntax of her assertion makes it impossible to be sure whether the "head" she refers to is herself or Mariam.

Mariam's response to Salome is even more disastrous, reminding us how much Cary's protagonist has invested in her appearance. Despite her recent difficulties understanding her own face and feelings, despite having begun to understand that judgement requires interpretation and is consequently fallible, Mariam still wishes to assert that her own superior virtue ought to be unproblematically legible. To Salome she insists,"You scarce have ever my superiors seen" (2.3.18). But virtue is not unproblematically obvious to sight. Salome and Alexandra both think it is; each trusts her own eyes too much, and this is why neither can read Mariam's crying eyes adequately.[275] But with the evidence standing before them, neither Mariam's silence nor her eloquent self-defence can make them see that which to her is already obvious.

Salome turns out to be no different from Mariam, however, in that both are walked up to and inspected from different angles by viewers who assume the right to judge them based on how they look, thereby denying liberty to move (*i.e.*, to move away, out of sight), to change in any way, or to be in any way other than they seem. In the second half of act 1, Salome replaces Mariam as the central figure, but we find the men she encounters now to be just as prone to "Mistaking" as the women in the first three scenes. What these early scenes dramatize for the viewer, then, is that it is the lot of all women in Herod's Proto-Panopticon Palace to be repeatedly framed by others, in the sense of being fixed in place and then read, treated as entirely legible. What Cary also makes clear in act 1 is that this treatment has nothing to do with virtue, for both

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[275] However, although Mariam's claim to having borne Salome's insulting "speech with patience" is certainly problematic, I think it is important to recognize that she chooses slightly different terms for the debate from those to which the other two are committed (1.3.48). Mariam does lose her temper—but she does not completely adopt her opponents' strategies. She does not mention Salome's loose tongue, or attempt to read any of Salome's parts.

Mariam and Salome—both the chaste and the unchaste wives—get the same treatment from everyone they encounter. Just as Mariam's attempt at privacy is thwarted by Alexandra, and her attempts to avoid confrontation, to walk away, are thwarted by both Alexandra and Salome, so is Salome's attempt to have a private conference with Silleus thwarted by Constabarus. Furthermore, although Salome becomes the object of very different readings by Silleus and Constabarus, both men insist on their right to read the entire woman, as and where she stands. Both insist on the coherence and legibility of what they see, and insist in addition on their right to possess the space they occupy. Unlike her female charaacters, Cary's male characters consistently combine a claim to interpretive authority with a claim to possess either the body they interpret or the physical place it inhabits.

Entrances and actions continue to provide crucial information about character, and to perform the audience's inability to read it with certainty, in the opening scene of *Mariam*'s second act. Here Cary contrasts the wives, mothers and sisters of kings whom her first act has introduced, all based on historical characters, with the humble servant Graphina—a character she has invented. And she contrasts the husbands and lovers of act 1 with Graphina's husband-to-be, Pheroras. Through both staging and dialogue, Cary introduces this new couple in such a way as to suggest initially that they have successfully found a way to avoid the destructive power struggles that characterize the other relationships we have seen so far. However, subsequent scenes reveal strong similarities between Pheroras and the other men, Herod especially; these similarities challenge us to reevaluate his rhetoric of love and respect when speaking to Graphina, and challenge us also to reevaluate whether Graphina's position of powerlessness and her assumption of humility are any more capable of keeping her safe from either personal danger or complicity in other people's harm than are the high status and pride that we have seen causing so much difficulty for Mariam, Alexandra, and Salome. Rank makes no more difference than virtue.

That Pheroras's relationship with Graphina *may* be different from any relationship dramatized in *Mariam*'s first act is, however, suggested before we hear a single word they speak to one another; act 2 scene 1 calls for Pheroras and Graphina to enter the stage *together*. This is strikingly different staging from that called for in any of act 1's six preceding scenes—even Silleus expresses joy at finding his "precious prey" Salome standing there waiting for him. Graphina does not come across (the stage) as the fixed object of her lover's possessive or predatory approach. The syntax of Pheroras's first line suggests that the two are entering the stage in the middle of an ongoing conversation:

> 'Tis true, Graphina, now the time draws nigh
> Wherein the holy priest with hallowed right [*sic*],
> The happy long-desired knot shall tie,
> Pheroras and Graphina to unite .... (2.1.1-4)

Nor is Graphina here held responsible and condemned for others' interpretations of her appearance, speech, and motion, as Mariam is throughout act 1. Rather, Pheroras encourages her, and us, to believe that he does not see his beloved servant's mobility of tongue as any more threatening than that of her body. Pheroras, according to himself at any rate, expects a virtuous woman to be both vocal and mobile; he respects the fact that language must guide interpretation of image. Although he does question Graphina, he does so far less aggressively than Alexandra, Salome, and Constabaras in act 1. The question is not the first thing out of his mouth, and he appears genuinely to wish an answer:

> PHERORAS. For though the diadem on Mariam's head
> Corrupt the vulgar judgements, I will boast
> Graphina's brow's as white, her cheeks as red.
> Why speak'st thou not fair creature? Move thy tongue,
> For silence is a sign of discontent .... (2.1.38-42)

Although he asks Graphina to speak because he reads her "silence" as "a sign of discontent" (2.1.42), Pheroras actually listens to her correction of what she calls his "Mistake" (2.1.45), and allows himself to be persuaded by it to change his reading of her silence from "grief" to "study" (4.1.47, 65). In accepting Graphina's re-reading of her silence, Pheroras seems at first to acknowledge that the body can be read many ways: he shows himself able to imagine two different readings of Graphina's face at the same time, and expects her to guide his interpretation with her words.

However, in his argument with his sister Salome in the following act we see how this attitude is subordinate to the more typical insistence on interpretive authority, suggesting that Graphina does not really enjoy any more room to exercise agency and influence how she is seen than does the queen on whom all eyes stare. Salome, seeking an object to attack, calls Graphina "One mean of birth, but yet of meaner mind, / A woman full of natural defects," and challenges Pheroras's ability to read a woman: "I wonder what your eye in her could find" (3.1.12-14). Pheroras retorts, "Mine eye found loveliness, mine ear found wit, / To please the one and to enchant the other" (3.1.15-16). This response corrects Salome's privileging of the eye over the ear, a privileging that distinguishes the early modern period from earlier times. Pheroras reminds us that neither "birth" nor "mind" can be seen in an instant, though Salome would pretend that they can, and "wit" can only be revealed to the ear over time. But Pheroras also uses the verb "found" twice here—one that, as we have seen, is equally favoured by Constabarus and Silleus. He had no need to study or learn from Graphina; he simply "found" her perfect, and his knowledge of her was from that moment of finding equally perfect. Like Silleus—and like Herod, as I shall discuss—Pheroras praises wit that confirms his opinion of himself, but associates eloquence with a fearful effeminizing deception. Thus, on my reading, through the character of Graphina Cary tests and ultimately rejects the hypothesis that, in such a world as this that she portrays, a woman of humble status may be freer to authorize her own life than a queen.

In suggesting a connection between Graphina and authorship, I of course am influenced by Weller and Ferguson's important argument that "her name may be intended to evoke writing (*graphesis* in Greek) as a 'silent' form of speech. The emphasis on her position of handmaiden (lines 59, 70) also suggests the traditional presentation of writing as ancillary (literally, in the position of a handmaiden) to spoken discourse" (160). That Cary identifies Graphina with writing in some way is beyond question; as a translator of texts by male authors, Cary herself assumed "the position of a handmaiden." I am not entirely convinced, however, that Graphina "enact[s] the 'silence' of writing in relation to the more vocal public speech of Mariam" (39), as Weller and Ferguson suggest, although it is certainly true that, in lines 40-42 quoted above, Pheroras emphasizes Graphina's "speechlessness" (Weller and Ferguson 160). He does so, however, in the hope and expectation that she will speak (not write), and elsewhere he praises her for her "wit," the same quality Herod praises in the vocal Mariam.[276] Despite her retiring humility, Graphina is another who possesses an eloquent voice in a female body, qualities that as we have seen are subject to condemnation. Her provocatively polysemous name ultimately raises more questions than it answers: Has Pheroras chosen a bride who is herself a writer, a maker of interpretations and texts? Or is she that which has been written (upon), a body (of text) produced by discourse? Has Pheroras chosen a bride upon whose body he expects to write as he chooses, an empty cipher he may fill with meaning as he pleases? These, I would suggest, are the questions Cary raises here—questions of urgent import to one who struggled all her life to find ways and means to write, to make choices about subject matter and circulation that were appropriately modest and virtuous. While acknowledging other interpretations, then, I am in this project particularly interested in considering how through the character of Graphina Cary examines the potential for agency that women may find in the role of the humble writer, a maker of words rather than a wearer of crowns. And I argue that Cary's portrayal suggests some envy of the freedom that Graphina's lack of power purchases her—or rather, a thoughtful and subtle examination of the question of whether or not a female servant might enjoy an enviable freedom compared to that of her more visibly dangerous and privileged mistress. However, this envy is entertained and then, I believe, ultimately rejected.[277]

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[276] Nowhere does Cary provide us with any clue that would allow us even to determine whether or not Graphina is literate.

[277] I do not mean to suggest that there were no significant differences in the opportunities and constrictions experienced by early modern women of different classes. I do suggest that Cary considered the differences to be insignificant.

Cary enjoyed productive relationships and friendships with servants all her life, and may well have been tempted, from a young age, to envy them a liberty she lacked. In Cary's youth servants were important collaborators and companions in her writing life: as a young girl she persuaded her parents' servants to supply her with candles (*Life* 187); as a young bride confined "to her chamber" by her mother-in-law, "There was only two in the whole house (besides her own servants) that ever came to see her, which they did by stealth: one of her husband's sisters and a gentlewoman that waited on her mother-in-law" (*Life* 189). These servants and waiting-women had access to candles; they could move between Cary's "chamber" and the world beyond, with freedom that no one of her own status dared to claim. They were also people she could talk and plan and laugh with (*Life* 213).[278] As a middle-aged woman, again restricted in her movements, this time by poverty, but more free than ever to read, converse, think, and ignore the demands imposed on her by her role as wife of an ambitious man, Cary's most loyal companion in her poverty was a servant. Her daughter describes their relationship as a warm friendship: "both of them did affirm they were never more merry nor better content in their lives than they were then" (*Life* 212). Now, like her servant, Cary never had to pose for portraits, never had to undergo the agonizing hours of "Dressing" that according to her daughter "was all her life a torture to her." When she could, in later years, "after he [her husband] was angry with her, .. she never went out of plain black, frieze or coarse stuff, or cloth" (*Life* 194). In the simple garb of a servant she achieved the status she may have long wished for. This was long after the writing of *Mariam*, but is consistent with what we know of her values and attitudes from very early on.

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[278] They were also people whom she believed herself to owe loyalty and protection, according to her daughter: "Nor was she any way sparing to her servants, when any occasion <of> for their advantage was offered. When they were very young (of which kind she often took even children), she was very careful they should be well brought up, and to have them learn rather those things that might after be profitable or graceful to themselves than what was useful for her. Of any of whom she had once taken care, she never left to do so (when they had need of her care) till she saw them, or they her, in their graves" (*Life* 200).

But Graphina's companion is not another intelligent and happily powerless woman. Pheroras is a powerful man very interested in holding on to his power, and their initial conversation soon qualifies our initial impression of companionate mobility. Graphina devotes much time to reviewing how entirely her liberty requires and depends on Pheroras's gift:

> Your hand hath lifted me from lowest state,
> To highest eminency wondrous grace,
> And me your handmaid have you made your mate,
> Though all but you alone do count me base.
> You have preserved me pure at my request,
> Though you so weak a vassal might constrain
> To yield to your high will .... (2.1.57-63)

The object of such gratitude does not need to see Graphina immobilized, because he does not see her as a threat to his own mobility. Rather, his marriage allows him actively to assert his autonomy. In fact, the main reason Pheroras delays asking his big question of Graphina appears to have more to do with his preoccupation with his own "eminency" than with either her beauty or his love. He characterizes their impending marriage as "This blessed hour, till now implor'd in vain, / Which hath my wished liberty restore, / And made my subject self my own again" (2.1.7-8). Only in the following line does he speak of "Thy love" (2.1.9). Throughout this scene, in fact, Pheroras seems incapable of speaking of his love for Graphina at all without also speaking of his resentment and jealousy of Herod, to whose whim he has been subject. During the first forty lines, Pheroras refers to Graphina seven times, to Herod thirteen times—and to himself over twenty times.[279] Since their marriage restores to him his "subject self," Graphina is certainly for Pheroras the image of his liberty from Herod's rule.

Like Diomede with Cleopatra, then, Pheroras actively encourages Graphina to move and to speak freely. And also like Diomede, he himself stands to gain from such a performance, but is nonetheless uncomfortable with the characteristics he so highly praises. Unlike Cleopatra, Graphina has no power to confer privilege or gifts directly; nevertheless, by exercising the privileges and gifts Pheroras gives her, she becomes a reflection and confirmation of his power:

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[279] Counting names, pronouns, and possessive adjectives.

his power to choose, his power to confer position on others. And in this, we find as the action of the play unfolds, he, like all the other men of status in Herod's court or in Alexandria, requires constant reflections of himself, and requires all his subjects, but his female subjects in particular, to provide them. Cary provides very early clues that this is so, even in Pheroras's "boast" that "Graphina's brow's as white [as Mariam's], her cheeks as red" (2.1.40). Here Pheroras actually produces Graphina as an object of inspection: he employs the discourse of the anatomizing blazon; he speaks of her in the third person, and he combines his (loving) interrogation with a visual once-over. For although Pheroras and Graphina do enter the stage together, we may also note that there is a full stop at the end of line 40 (present in the 1613 edition), just before Pheroras asks Graphina "Why speak'st thou not fair creature?" (2.1.41). Surely what Cary has inscribed in the text here at this point is a physical standstill on stage. Once Pheroras completes the inventory of his blazon, the shared progress of the two lovers comes to a halt as he stops, looks at Graphina expectantly—no doubt fixing her, albeit momentarily, with his gaze—and then expresses dissatisfaction with what he sees, issuing a command ("Move thy tongue") in the imperative mode. The inspection is all over in a flash—but it is there. And it suggests another explanation of Graphina's silence than the acceptable one she provides.

Nor is the trope of the blazon the only element of misogynist discourse that Cary introduces into Pheroras's first dialogue with Graphina, elements which appear innocuous until we are challenged to reevaluate them when they reappear in act 4 on the lips of both Pheroras and Herod. Consider, for instance, the echoes of Pheroras's gentle invitation to Graphina in act 2 in Herod's invitation to Mariam to tell him what is bothering her. Pheroras, as we have seen, asks, "Why speak'st thou not fair creature? Move thy tongue, / For silence is a sign of discontent" (2.1.41-42). Using much the same language, Herod implores:

> My best and dearest half: what ails my dear?
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Is this my welcome? Have I long'd so much
> To see my dearest Mariam discontent?
> What isn't that is the cause thy heart to touch? (4.3.88, 93-95)

The main difference between the two men in this regard, of course, is that Pheroras accepts Graphina's explanation, whereas Herod stops listening when he hears an explanation he does not like, and moves from tenderness to full-blown rage in an instant. However, the question Cary raises and leaves unresolved with these dramatic parallels is whether Pheroras would have kept listening to Graphina had she not fulfilled his confident expectation of being pleased with the answer. For this she does, despite her correction of his misreading:

> Mistake me not, my lord, too oft have I
> Desir'd this time to come with wingèd feet,
> To be enrapt with grief when 'tis too nigh.
> You know my wishes ever yours did meet:
> If I be silent, 'tis no more but fear
> That I should say too little when I speak:
> But since you will my imperfections bear,
> In spite of doubt I will my silence break:
> Yet might amazement tie my moving tongue,
> But that I know before Pheroras' mind. (2.1.45-54)

Herod's behaviour in act 4 suggests just how much depends on Graphina's knowing "Pheroras' mind" and ensuring that her "wishes ever ... meet" with his.

The most startling feature of act 4, however, regarding Pheroras's view of women in any case, is the way that this man who has so notably performed respect for Graphina's liberty and her eloquence willingly sacrifices Mariam's reputation—and the reputation of eloquence in general—in order to keep both his bride and his independence from Herod's rule. To win Salome's support and Herod's respect for his marriage, Pheroras condemns Constabarus to death, thereby making his new wife complicit in the betrayal and execution of three men, and one woman. He does it using eloquence, which he now associates not with virtuous honesty, but with deceptive manipulation. This same man who praised Graphina's wit so proudly and so recently now asserts that he will use speech in order "In Herod's ear the Hebrew to *deface*. / And I that never studied eloquence," he continues, "Do mean with eloquence this tale to grace" (3.2.46-48, emphasis added). In fact, this emphatic rhyming couplet is his exit line. On these terms, language *can* influence the way a person's face is read; but its effect is to warp the image, not to illuminate it. To ruin Constabarus's reputation with Herod is to use language to distort, to deface, the image that Herod sees.

And he is so good at it. When needs must, the noble Pheroras shows himself a master of this discourse. In honouring his deal with Salome in act 4, Pheroras slips easily into the same discourse of constraint that the men who inhabit both Herod's and Cleopatra's palaces all employ to describe female beauty. How disingenuous sounds his excuse for marrying Graphina, and how invidious its implications as he develops them:

> PHERORAS. For what I showed, love's power constrained me show,
> And pardon loving faults for Mariam's sake.
> HEROD. Mariam, where is she?
> PHERORAS. Nay, I do not know,
> But absent use of her fair name I make.
> You have forgiven greater faults than this.
> For Constabarus, that against your will
> Preserved the sons of Baba, lives in bliss .... (4.2.25-30)

It is not immediately clear why Pheroras should make Mariam, and Herod's love for her, the transitional topic between his disobedience and Constabarus's. But Pheroras has promised us "eloquence," and we see it at work here, in a remarkable instance of rhetorical sleight of hand that entirely depends on the premise that a man who falls in love with a woman has been forced to do so by her immoral exercise of her beauty's power. Pheroras's logic depends on Herod's unquestioned assumption of this premise, an assumption that allows him to treat the term "faults" as a particularly slippery signifier. He invokes Mariam, ostensibly to justify his own love for Graphina by reminding Herod of his for the queen; on this reading, the "loving faults" are Pheroras's but also, by implication, Herod's. With his next breath however, the term "faults" now appears to refer to those of Constabarus. Pheroras makes his own fault seem excusable by comparing it to his accuser's, and then makes his fault seem minor by comparing it to a greater offender's. But the syntax is ambiguous: although Pheroras accuses Mariam of nothing, both times he mentions "faults" in this passage, even as the focus shifts from one type of crime to a greater, from excessive love to treachery, Mariam remains in view and implicated. Pheroras's reminder to Herod, that "You have forgiven greater faults than this," comes just after a reference to Mariam, and just before his revelation of Constabarus's deceit. It strongly implies, though it does not state, that Herod has forgiven *Mariam* for great, unnamed faults. And in his mind he has, because Mariam's beauty is itself a fault; therefore Herod's very love for her, though a fault as Pheroras suggests, proves that she was at fault first, in forcing him by the power of her beauty to love her. Although it is the Butler's lie about the drink in the following scene that prompts Herod's first explicit accusation of adultery, it does not help her case that Pheroras first reinforces Herod's belief that a man who loves a woman is "constrained" by her to do so, and that giving in to "love's power" is a "fault." Pheroras appears to aim that injurious name "fault" in many directions, but each time Mariam is its target.

Graphina's eloquence is acceptable, then, because it constructs Pheroras as powerful and confirms his interpretation of what he sees; Pheroras's eloquence is successful because he exploits his culture's understanding of female beauty as a force that women wield and for the effects of which they must be held responsible. Cary and Pembroke both know that when men must dominate, the reasonable response to a woman's exertion of the force of her beauty is to counter it with superior physical force. This is the reasoning that makes it so easy, makes it seem so reasonable, for Herod to utter such expostulations as this: "Even for love of thee / I do profoundly hate thee" (4.4.200-01). It is the same reasoning that prompts Antony's apostrophe to the absent Cleopatra:

> Thou only hast me vanquisht: not by force
> (For forste I cannot be) but by sweete baites
> Of thy eyes graces, which did gaine so fast
> upon my libertie, that nought remain'd. (1.34-37)

Antony projects all inconstancy onto her, reads his love of her as proof of his own constancy. Cleopatra's beauty is her fault, in the sense of being her flaw, and also in the sense of being her responsibility. It is a power immorally exercised. Therefore, like Mariam, she must be made helpless, must have her power taken away.

In the previous chapter, we considered how Mariam begins to discover a way of seeing, and a way of responding to her body's motions, in conflict with that which fears movement and change as it fears multiplicity: a way of seeing that does not require the surface to say everything necessary, nor fears the inevitable inconsistency wrought by time. In this section, we have seen how the action Cary inscribes in her text dramatizes how difficult it is to convey such insights to the frame-assuming authoritative viewer. Neither leaving the stage, nor lingering modestly in the wings, will help a woman to escape judgemental viewing by another, for she is always already in the spotlight; nor is it easy to intervene in such a spectator's interpretation of either one's body or one's words. However, it is possible to unsettle a viewer's certainty through the strategically unintelligible performance, as both Cary and Pembroke recognize. The cumulative effect of Cary's opening scenes is to problematize intelligibility for the audience of the drama; details accumulate, but do not cohere; as the disjunction between iterated acts of viewing and naming becomes evident, their authority is no longer evident to the audience, though it may remain so to the ones judging. However, Cleopatra and Mariam both do employ a strategy that effectively unsettles their judges: detaching the speaker's voice from her body. As Willis points out, "The body cannot be entirely given over to spectacle when the voice resists consolidation within the frame" (90). By sending their voices to Caesar and to Herod through another, both Cleopatra and Mariam are able to have significant influence over the attitudes of the men who have condemned them, an effect that exercising an embodied eloquence fails to achieve. This is one of the strategies I discuss in the following two sections of this chapter.

## B. "THE IDEA OF THE TRIUMPH"

> No earthlie march, but heavenly, did they hould;
> Their speaches holie were, and happie those,
> who are so borne, to be with them enroll'd.
> - Petrarch, *The Triumph of Death*, trans. Pembroke, 1.22-24

In the previous chapter I argued that Pembroke's Cleopatra, unlike Daniel's, cares more for Antonius than for anything, including appearances. Nevertheless, both Cleopatra and Pembroke herself do care whether this queen is publicly honoured or publicly disgraced, and Pembroke represents Cleopatra as finding effective means to achieve the former and avoid the latter. As several critics have noted, Pembroke "departs from Garnier's text to assign Cleopatra a motive for her refusal to open the monument doors. Whereas Garnier simply says that the doors were closed, Sidney elaborates with the phrase, 'which she not daring to open least she should be made a prisoner to the Romaines, and carried in Caesar's triumphe cast downe a corde from an high window'" (Sanders 108). The fourth act of *Antonius* is largely given over to an account of what happens when Cleopatra does this: she establishes her inviolable power by raising Antony to join her in the monument, accompanied by the cheers of her people, when Caesar had planned to remove her from the monument to join him. In their discussion of Pembroke's translation of Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte*, Hannay *et al* also note Pembroke's emphasis in *Antonius* on "the degree to which both Antony and Cleopatra are motivated by their desire to escape the ignominy of appearing in Caesar's Triumph," and conclude that "the idea of the Triumph" is very important to Pembroke" (264). What this connection foregrounds is that the idea of escaping from someone else's Triumph is no less important to Pembroke than the idea of heading one's own. These same ideas were equally important to Cary; whereas the fourth act of *Antonius* is largely given over to an account of Cleopatra's trumping of Caesar's triumph, the final act of *Mariam* is largely given over to an account of the protagonist's triumphal march towards her death and the response it evoked in others.

When it comes to literal Triumphs, however, early modern women were not supposed to get such ideas. The standard place for women in a military march—if they have a place at all—has long been at the end of the train as camp followers, contemptible providers of sexual service, among the last and lowest of the low.[280] From Philip Sidney's funeral procession, another formal assertion of high status and abiding influence, women were entirely excluded. Sidney's sister Pembroke herself had to stay out of the parade, off the street, out of sight: "she was barred from taking part in the funeral and may not even have witnessed the procession" (Hannay, *Phoenix* 58). Whatever may be an individual woman's established rank, woman in sixteenth-century representations embodies the chaos-threatening human propensity for change. And it is just this propensity that the rigidly structured order of a procession is designed to deny and contain. Pembroke's Caesar needs Cleopatra; she is the sign of his mastery over mutability, whose name is woman.

Not all historical formal occasions excluded women, of course; rank must be acknowledged and precedence given, but as Shakespeare's description of Anne Boleyn's coronation dramatizes, the performance of stability is immeasurably complicated, especially in unstable times, when a woman occupies the head of any train—or even behaves in a way that suggests she considers herself entitled to do so. Hints of anxiety and disorder are everywhere evident to those watching the new queen's procession towards Westminster Abbey as Shakespeare depicts it. For instance, where one gentleman sees, in the countesses accompanying Anne, "stars indeed," his companion prophetically sees "falling ones" (4.1.54-55). Moreover, the end of this performance of the new order is total chaos; a third gentleman arriving on the scene informs his friends that "the crowd i'th'Abbey," having once "Had the full view of" Anne's body, created "such a noise" and disorder that "No man living / Could say 'This is my wife' there, all were woven / So strangely in one piece" (4.1.57, 71, 79-81). Where one cannot distinguish his own wife from other women, how can one distinguish a queen from a quene? Through her very act of triumph, Shakespeare suggests, Queen Anne snatches defeat from the jaws of victory.

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[280] cf. Margaret Cavendish's concern with the place of women in the military, as explored for instance in her two-part dramatic text *Bel in Campo*.

Although the dialogue in this scene in *Henry VIII* is a work of Shakespeare's imagination, what happened to Anne Boleyn is a matter of public record, as is what happened to Lady Jane Grey. Anne's daughter, who was also Lady Jane's cousin and who very nearly followed these two female relations to the scaffold during her sister Mary's reign, well knew that putting oneself forward as a queen was a risky business. As Frye argues compellingly, Elizabeth spent her entire reign negotiating her position, deferring on some points in order to win on others, conducting these negotiations for authority through the representations of her female body. Adding to Elizabeth's vulnerability during such events as her progress through London and Wesminster in 1588[9]is that in early modern England a royal progress, however triumphant its mood, could hardly help evoking thoughts of executions.[281] In Elizabeth's case the one most vividly evoked, inevitably, must have been that of her mother, especially given the fact that one of the tableaux on this occasion represented "the valiant & noble prynce king Henry theight... & by him ... y$^{e}$ right worthy ladie quene Anne, wife to the said king Henry the [...] ght, & mother to our most soueraign ladie quene Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with Sceptours & diademes" (Mulcaster A4v).[282] Nor would Elizabeth have been the only one that day reminded of executions. Her triumphal progress began at the Tower, and continued past St. Paul's Churchyard, which was occasionally used for public hangings, to Temple Bar, which Charles Mitchell describes as "a gate made of timber to mark the beginning of the city's juridisdiction, [which] exhibited the heads of traitors as late as 1746" (8). Mitchell also points out that executions were "intended as a form of civic pageantry" (1). Criminals made a two-hour ceremonial procession from Newgate to Tyburn which included various scheduled stops along the way, including St. Sephulchre's Church and possibly, also, "a nearby tavern" for "a drink with the hangman" (12). Furthermore, the same term, "scaffold," was used to describe both the condemned criminal's last destination, and the stage at which Queen Elizabeth stopped to view a pageant on her way through the city.[283] But if she knew that a queen's progress could sometimes be towards her death, and that the two journeys were not always difficult to tell apart, Elizabeth also knew even from the very start of her reign how much more acceptable to her viewers a queen's assertion of mastery could be made through her simultaneous performance of the possibility of martyrdom. Through such performance, she embraced the positive aspects of both condemned criminal and triumphant rule, while at least partly avoiding having to own the negative aspects of either.

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[281] In describing an earlier royal progress, that of Queen Mary I and her husband Philip, Frye notes: "The route of the entry itself constituted a grim reminder to the entry's sponsors and spectators of the violence occasioned by this marriage: The need to create both executions and royal entries as staged spectacles meant that some of the stages were erected at the same places where three months earlier Wyatt's rebels had been hanged" (29).

[282] See also Frye's discussion of "the customary genealogical tableau tracing Elizabeth's lineage" and the unresolved problems it raised regarding Anne Boleyn (33).

Elizabeth Tudor was not the only woman of her day whose imagination was haunted by the ghost of Anne Boleyn; nor was she the only one who found the role of triumphant martyr to be in some ways empowering. As Weller and Ferguson observe, both Cary's Mariam and her Salome have aspects of Anne Boleyn in their characters and situations (32-33). As Ferguson argues elsewhere, Cary's Mariam has aspects of Anne Boleyn in her death, too:

> Cary further revises her source by specifying the mode of Mariam's death. Josephus simply says that Herod ordered her executed, whereas Cary places considerable emphasis on the "fact" that she is beheaded. This detail, unremarked by Cary's critics so far as I know, seems an over-determined allusion—to Christ's harbinger, John the Baptist, beheaded by Salome; to a recent queen of Scotland, Mary, whose son ruled England when Cary wrote her play and who was in the eyes of many English Catholics a victim of Protestant tyranny; and also, perhaps, to Anne Boleyn, killed by a royal husband who had broken with the Catholic church to divorce his first wife and who was explicitly likened to the tyrant Herod by some of his disapproving subjects. ("Running" 56-57)

To this list of models (or ghosts) we may add Lady Jane Grey, whose story appeared along with those of Anne Boleyn and Queen Elizabeth in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, and, I believe, other women martyrs who shared a place with them in Foxe's annals, even though their mode of execution was different. In the following pages, I concentrate on sixteenth-century published texts describing admirable women faced with early death, particularly the Protestant martyr Anne Askew, burned at Smithfield in 1546, Anne Boleyn, executed for treason in 1536 but represented by Foxe as a Protestant martyr, Mary Queen of Scots, executed for treason in 1587 but widely regarded as a Catholic martyr, and the fictional Laura, heroine of Petrarch's immensely influential *Trionfi* and subject of that other translation by Pembroke that examines the idea of triumph in or through death.

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[283] See Mitchell (16) and Mulcaster (A2).

There can be little question that these narratives were familiar to both Pembroke and Cary. John Bale's report on Anne Askew was reprinted several times before being included verbatim in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*; a goodly number of verbal and visual representations of Mary Stuart's last hours were smuggled into England from the Continent in the months after her death; and the iconography of the *Trionfi* was everywhere. As evidence of more personal interest in such narratives, we may note, for instance, that Henry, Earl of Pembroke, was one of the lords to whom Mary Stuart's death warrant was addressed (Strickland 241). The following is also highly suggestive:

> ... the striking printer's emblem on the title pages of *Mariam* and several other books produced by Creede shows the naked, crowned figure of Truth being scourged by a hand which emerges from the clouds; the surrounding motto reads "Virescit Vulnere Veritas" ("Truth flourishes through injury"). This emblem is among those which Mary, Queen of Scots, and Bess of Hardwick embroidered while the latter was acting as the former's jailer .... (Weller and Ferguson 45)

Weller and Ferguson reasonably suggest that this emblem may indicate Catholic leanings on the part of Creede. But since we have other evidence that, however reluctant to have herself identified with the author, Cary was personally involved in the production of Creede's edition, it is also possible that she played some role in choosing or approving the title page's design.[284] It may, then, indicate a sympathy or affiliation of Cary's own. Petrarch's *Trionfi* themselves were well known to Elizabeth Tudor from her childhood, and they continued to grow in importance to her iconography as queen throughout her reign.[285] Such interest on the part of the queen can only have helped to validate the triumph as a legitimate and legitimizing paradigm for the women of Elizabeth's court, including Pembroke, who translated the *Trionfo della Morte* some time before 1600.[286] The popularity of such texts, their influence on Queen Elizabeth whose self-representations as we have already seen were so important to Pembroke and Cary's work, and other evidence of Pembroke's and Cary's interest in the rhetoric of martyrdom invite us to view early modern accounts of triumphant woman martyrs as models for both the women dramatists who are the focus of this project.

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[284] All but two of the extant copies have the page with the dedication to her "sister, Elizabeth Cary," a dedication which must have identified the author "E.C." unambiguously, removed.

## 1. "I think to die": Performing martyrdom

This was the end of that godly lady. – John Foxe, *re* Anne Boleyn

Pembroke's *Antonius* recalls other late-sixteenth-century texts that describe a woman as triumphant, but do so in terms that avoid claiming for her the masculine strength of body generally associated with the public triumph: here I consider in particular Richard Mulcaster's *Queen's Majesty's Passage* and Pembroke's translation of Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte*. Mulcaster's text is an important forerunner of *Antonius* and *Mariam* because of the influence of the civic pageant on the early modern English history play. As Glynne Wickham argues, such pageants as the one Mulcaster describes "appear to lead ... in a patently direct line ... to plays like *Gorboduc*, *The Misfortunes of Arthur* or *Endymion* with their expositional dumbshows and acutely personal allegory and thus to Shakespeare's History Plays with their thinly veiled sermons on government" (63). Furthermore, Wickham singles out this particular procession, citing the fact that "On the Conduit in Gracechurch Street was the pageant called 'The uniting of the two howses of Lancastre and Yorke.'" Since "here on the stage of this street theatre of 1558 stood Henry VII, his wife Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn," Wickham considers this stage's show to have formed "the governing theme of Shakespeare's subsequent history plays" (72). I would further argue Elizabeth Tudor's response to this and other pageants during the queen's progress also helped to form a "governing theme" of subsequent self-representations, for Mulcaster represents Queen Elizabeth as employing a strategy that served her well throughout her reign, namely that of publicly representing herself as a willing martyr for her people. Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte* may be considered another forerunner of *Antonius*, in its subversion of the conventions of the genre of the triumph. In her translation, Pembroke represents Laura as one to whom death gives the privilege of speaking and acting triumphantly. Each of these texts deploys a constellation of vivid and particular images to represent the triumphant woman as one who, while vibrantly alive, possesses a power not located in her physical body, and I argue that the dramatic potential of this strategy is realized in the last two acts of *Antonius*.

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[285] Although there is a large body of critical work on Elizabeth's use of Petrarchism centering on his sonnets rather than his *Trionfi*, as in Frye p. 107 ff, Elizabeth's adoption of the ermine, sign of virginity featured in the *Trionfo della Morte*, for her well-known "Ermine" portrait of 1585 illustrates that the text she knew well enough to translate 90 lines of as a schoolgirl remained an influence on her throughout her adult life.

[286] The only known copy of Pembroke's translation is a transcription completed in 1600. It is not known when Pembroke actually wrote her translation.

From the very beginning of her career, Queen Elizabeth knew how to capitalize on her performance of the physical vulnerability required of one of her gender in order to reduce, rather than enhance, the political vulnerability her position inevitably placed her in. She is also well recognized as knowing how to claim for herself certain judiciously chosen masculine traits. According to Frye, Mulcaster's frequently reprinted account of Elizabeth's 1558[9] triumphal entry through Westminster and London on the eve of her coronation is an example only of the former: challenging "the majority of historians and biographers" who have read this text "as straightforward evidence of Elizabeth's triumph and accession to power," Frye argues instead that Mulcaster's text illustrates Elizabeth's need to negotiate and compromise with the interests of London's business and political elites at the outset of her reign before she was a proven ruler with an established iconography (31). On Frye's reading, Elizabeth accepted the city's allegorical representations of her as "compliant, malleable, and grateful—in short," the "metaphoric wife"

(25) of the merchants who, by "producing and paying for the entry," exercised a considerable power that Elizabeth was at pains to acknowledge (26):[287]

> Because civic interests authorized themelves through the acts of giving and advising, Elizabeth's role was largely limited to receiving, briefly thanking, and remembering in a show of city wealth and wisdom. ... Through her cooperation, the new queen acceded to the city's terms in exchange for its support. This public, ceremonious submission formed the basis for subsequent successful Crown-city transactions. (26, 29)

However, while my argument is indebted to Frye's work, I would suggest that she underestimates the potential threat or hostility that even this young queen's physical triumph through her subjects' territories evoked. And I argue that Elizabeth was able significantly to defuse this hostility, not only by deferring and negotiating, but also by invoking the discourse of martyrdom in order to construct a dialectical image of herself as at once weak victim and powerful victor. Instead of simply trading her sexualized submission for the city officials' support, in other words, Elizabeth offered them a different kind of weakness: one not associated in any way with her gender, or associated in any way with acceptance of another's authority. That is the admirable weakness of the martyr triumphant.[288] As Germaine Warkentin points out, the royal entry was "Ratified by both classical and biblical example—the Roman triumph, [and] Jesus's entry into

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[287] Frye elaborates: "In casting Elizabeth as a mother who receives metaphoric children from the city and as a daughter who receives its advice, the text assigns her the domestic roles that attempt to contain the power and voice of women" (25-26).

[288] We may recall that this was more than politically expedient. Elizabeth was keenly aware of her vulnerability to assassination from very early in her reign; in a sense, from the day she was crowned if not before, she began preparing for the Babbington Plot. This awareness of her vulnerability to assassination helped shape her policies, and was also useful to her in making her policies palatable to others, as is evident in William Maitland, Laird of Lethington, Scottish Ambassador's report of his conversations with Queen Elizabeth in September and October, 1961. Frequently pressed by him to acknowledge Mary, Queen of Scots as his heir, Elizabeth repeatedly asserted her conviction that naming an heir would tempt assassination and rebellion, and thus be more than her life was worth: "ye think that this device of yours should make friendship betwixt us [*i.e.* her and Mary Stuart], and I fear that rather it should produce the contrary effect. Think you that I could love my winding-sheet? … I know the inconstancy of the people of England, how they ever mislike the present government and have their eyes fixed upon that person that is next to succeed .... I have good experience of myself in my sister's [reign] how desirous men were that I should be in place, and earnest to set me up. And if I would have consented, I know what enterprises would have been attempted to bring it to pass .... And if we … should miscontent any our subjects, it is to be feared that if they knew a certain successor of our crown they would have recourse thither" (*Elizabeth I* 65-66).

Jerusalem on Palm Sunday (John 12.12-13)" (20). In this last, triumph and martyrdom are indistinguishable.

Her awareness of the triumph as *adventus* is evident in Elizabeth's reported promise to "not spare, if nede be to spend my blood" for her people's "safetie and quietness," a promise made at a crucial moment in her passage through London. Frye takes this speech as an example of Elizabeth's performance of feminine meekness which she considers characteristic of the entry as a whole, but if we consider Elizabeth's behaviour as well as her speech, we may well conclude that the overall impression she conveyed was far from meek. In comparing Mulcaster's text with Ben Jonson's celebration of the 1604 triumphal procession into London of Elizabeth's successor, James, Frye argues that Jonson's *Part of the King's Entertainment in Passing to His Coronation* gives to city and monarch

> ... a specifically gendered set of meanings that reverse those of Elizabeth's entry: If James is male, London is female. ... In *The Queen Majesty's Passage*, the city is no less adamantly gendered as the queen's teacher, father, and husband. London is also a voyeur of Elizabeth, the admiring, dutiful young woman displaying her female anatomy, her "passage," for all to see. Whereas Elizabeth, busily smiling, thanking, and acknowledging the goodness shown her, witnessed condescending allegories of female duty, James's entry into London was proclaimed in the language of mastery. (31-32)

The differences between Jonson's text and Mulcaster's are very real. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, as David M. Bergeron asserts, "Throughout the Elizabethan period speech remains of secondary importance in the royal entry form" (17). Mulcaster is describing a "*Passage through*": a royal progress involving Elizabeth's body literally moving *through* social and physical space in very specific ways. Frye's accute observation of "how anxious the queen herself was to dramatize her commitment to hearing" the city officials' "message" must be read in the context of the new queen's keen awareness of just how aggressively masculine her *Passage* was by its very nature (33), and the consequent need to compensate. Surely, in her active penetration of the city and its streets, Elizabeth was not so much *displaying* her passage as *making* it. Whatever she said or did not say, "the primary appeal of these occasional festivities," as Wickham points out, "then as now, was visual" (81).

Elizabeth on this progress was a body in motion, a moving target at the head of a spectacular train that constituted a display of the wealth, the power, and the support of the aristocracy of the realm that she already possessed without the gift or permission of the city elite so bent on performing the role of genial and powerful host.[289] Mulcaster begins his account by acknowleding this train in considerable detail, and by acknowledging its effect on viewers as well:

> VPon Saturday, whiche was the xiiii. day of Ianuarye in the yere of our Lord God .1558. about .ii. of the clocke at after noone, the moste noble and Christian princesse, oure mooste dradde soueraigne Ladye Elyzabeth by the grace of god Quene of Englande Fraunce & Irelande, defendour of the faith. &c. *marched* from the towre to passe through the citie of London towarde Westminster, richely furnished, & most honorably accompanied, as well with gentilmen, Barons, & other the nobilite of this realme, as also with a notable trayne of goodly and beawtifull ladies, richly appoynted. And entryng the citie was of the people receiued marueylous entierly .... (A2, emphasis added)

Whatever his agenda may have been in writing this *Account*,[290] Mulcaster's own awareness of the fact of the queen's mobility permeates his text. Despite the fact that Elizabeth was carried on a litter, which Mulcaster refers to as the much more masculine "chariot" (A3), it is her movement rather than her passivity that he consistently stresses. After all, the very first verb in the text, and one Mulcaster resorts to frequently throughout the *Passage*, is the most unfeminine "march."

Seen in this context, the moment leading up to Elizabeth's promise to die for her people must be read as highly ambiguous. This is the moment at which "the right whorshipfull maister Ranulph Cholmley, Recorder of the citie, presented to the Quenes majestie a purse of crimosin sattin richly wrought with gold, wherin the citie gaue unto the Quenes majestie a thousand markes in gold" (C3). According to Frye, this is a moment of feminized submission: "When Elizabeth accepts the purse from the recorder, she stands within the entry's most overt allegory of its sexual economy. It is an allegory at once financial—a gift of gold to a sovereign who will always need money—and sexual—a kind of inseminated vessel. As an object, the purse is so closely connected to financial power that it cannot be as female as its looks suggest" (41-42). According to this reading, the city casts Elizabeth in the role of one whose sexual services may be bought, and she agrees to it.

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[289] For detailed descriptions, see Arthur F. Kinney (19) and Leahy (54).

[290] Mulcaster was writing for a heterogeneous audience. No doubt he and his employers hoped that the *Passage* would construct a version of events that served their interests for readers who had not been there in person, as well as interpret what they had seen for readers who had been there, and Frye makes a convincing case for reading Mulcaster's text as having been constructed to serve the interests of the London elite who sponsored the tableaux and presentations that greeted Elizabeth on her way through London to Westminster, in part through his emphasis on these presentations' imagery and on Elizabeth's words and gestures of gratitude and submission. Nevertheless, as a memento for people who had seen at least part of Elizabeth's entry, the text would evoke memories of a queen's spectacular possession of the streets of London. And even those readers who had not been there would have had a familiarity with the procession as performance genre, as well as familiarity with its iconography, that contemporary readers lack. The degree to which Mulcaster's text may evoke the idea of movement in a twenty-first century reader is probably not a good measure of its effect on an early modern audience.

But the "looks" of the purse are not the only features of this scene that complicate Frye's reading. The fact that the Recorder was the one standing still, passively waiting for Elizabeth's "march" to take her towards him and his gift, means we cannot ignore the alternate reading: Elizabeth here accepts the offer of the city's own feminine "purse" to her entering self. In other words, if we read this climactic moment of the entry, this first moment of close contact between the two interested parties, as the point at which Elizabeth symbolically married London, it is difficult not to read Elizabeth's role as the active, conventionally masculine one of taking over the spouse's civic body by moving into and through it. London, conversely, in allowing this passage, and also in forming itself into the many-faceted mirror in which Elizabeth could see her own glory reflected, played the passive, conventionally female role. Indeed, Mulcaster's paraphrase of the Recorder's request that she "'not … esteme the value of the gift, but the mynd of the gyvers'" employs the conventional discourse of maidenly modesty (C3). Nor is this the only point at which Mulcaster's language makes evident his recognition of the masculine aspect of Elizabeth's entry. Consider his description of the Londoners' response to Elizabeth's words, in which he asserts, "The people again wer wonderfully rauished with the louing answers and gestures of theyr princesse" (A2v). This "ravished" is the same verb that Frye cites as evidence of the difference between the representations of James's entry and Mulcaster representation of Elizabeth's. Although Dekker's context associates being "ravished" with the exercise of sexual force in a way that Mulcaster's does not,[291] Mulcaster's use of this multivalent verb nevertheless exemplifies how imperfectly his text suppresses the traces of an awareness of Elizabeth's performance as aggressively masculine. Such a threatening performance as Elizabeth's encounter with the recorder requires the sort of ambiguity Frye notes just to make it palatable.

One important strategy for achieving this desireable ambiguity in which Elizabeth and the city did cooperate was the representation of Elizabeth as lacking physical force. It is her voice, not her body, that Mulcaster describes as "princelike":

> So that if a man shoulde say well, he could not better tearme the citie of London that time, than a stage wherin was shewed the wonderfull spectacle, of a noble hearted princesse toward her most louing people, & the peoples exceding comfort in beholding so worthy a soueraigne, & hearing so princelike a voice .... (A2v)

And it is with this voice that Elizabeth gave her people the "comfort" of imagining her dead body, in the speech Mulcaster approvingly records her making immediately following that significant and difficult exchange of the purse filled with gold. At this moment of triumphant arrival (or penetration), when the "quene" either receives the city's purse or becomes it, depending on your reading of the event, Elizabeth invites her viewers to imagine her total physical lack in gender-neutral language that refuses the role of sexual commodity while simultaneously denying any claim to masculine virility:

> I thank my lord maior, his brethren, & you all. And wheras your request is that I should continue your good ladie & quene, be ye ensured, that I wil be as good unto you, as ever quene was to her people. No will in me can lacke, neither doe I trust shall ther lacke any power. And perswade yourselves, that for the safetie and quietness of you all, I will not spare, if nede be to spend my blood, God thanke youall. (C3v)

Elizabeth's promise deflects attention from any physical weakness in herself that could be explicitly associated with gender and sexuality to an androgynous weakness that she parlays into "power." Such a promise also implies decisive effort, not passivity, positioning her ambiguously between martial Amazon and martyred sacrifice. The position it refuses is that of the dutiful wife.

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[291] In a text describing a moment analogous to Elizabeth's incident of the purse, says Frye, Thomas Dekker "describes the recorder welcoming him [James] 'as a glorious Bridegroome through your Royall Chamber.' In short, the new king 'rauished' the city 'with vnutterable ioyes'" (32).

That Elizabeth made the most of her traditional right to claim the heart of a king in addition to the body of a woman is well recognized (see Axton, *e.g.*). But not claiming all the qualities of a man's body for her own also contributed significantly to her people's "comfort in beholding" her and to their recognition of her right to perform her possession of a city and a nation. To claim and keep her throne with the support of those around her, Elizabeth needed to be understood as possessing both much more and much less than a single, entire, woman's body. This need, and the strategies that served it, are both evident in a work produced towards the close of her reign as well. The "Procession" portrait by Robert Peake (attr.), *c.* 1601 (Figure 20), may be considered the product of this tradition, even though the elements of the style that the queen so favoured have, on my reading, been to a large extent co-opted to serve the interests of the man who commissioned it.[292] Where Strong sees in this portrait a "dance of state" between an adored queen and her "worshippers" (*Cult* 53, 52), I see competition and veiled hostility. Yet although this portrait represents Elizabeth's procession through the streets as an unwelcome intrusion, and suggests a threat to both her political and physical bodies, it also represents her as one who performs her queenly duties among her people, despite the ever-present dangers that surround her. As a young queen, she represented herself as willing to die for her people; as an old queen, she represented herself as one whose life had been sacrificed in the service of her people, the pelican who fed her offspring on her own flesh.[293] Such a programme of self-representation made it possible for even portraits that emphasized her vulnerability as this one does to be read as celebrations of her triumph.

This synoptic portrait, Strong tells us, was commissioned by the Earl of Worcester, not a fading star like Lee, commissioner of the submissive "Ditchley" portrait, but a rising one: Peake's work celebrates Worcester's "new role as Master of the Horse" (*Gloriana* 153), an important post once held by Robert Dudley.[294] It accordingly documents a procession in which the queen is accompanied by her Knights of the Garter, with Worcester occupying his new position of honour at her side. Yes, she occupies the centre of the painting, as she does the centre of the street she moves through and of the crowd surrounding her. Furthermore, as in other royal portraits, the queenly features emphasized in the painting—the rich fabrics and jewellery of her dress, as well as the royal litter itself—identify her status unmistakeably. But others' social position is established just as carefully as the queen's. Worcester too is centrally placed, on my reading competing with Elizabeth for the viewer's gaze. He may be beneath her, but he is also in front of her, very much in the centre of the painting.[295] According to William Leahy, who follows Strong on this point, "It is by his relation to the Queen that Somerset is defined, and displaying her allows him to display himself" (147). But I cannot agree with either Strong or Leahy that Worcester here fully casts "himself into his role as the successor of Essex escorting ... the *idea*" of Elizabeth (Strong, *Cult* 52), or that the painting represents Worcester as content to represent "his subjectivity" as "all in relation to this highest authority, the Queen, who is the painting's greater subject" (Leahy 147). Leahy draws our attention to the "line of [twelve] uniformed guards, many holding halberds, each wearing a ruff collar and dark tunic. These are the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners, her personal bodyguards. ... In the picture, these bodyguards form a solid line behind the Queen, though a number of them are standing slightly further back ..., constituting a further protective boundary" (148). Leahy reads these guards as acknowledging "the potential for resistance on the part of the common people" who are almost but not entirely excluded from the procession depicted" (149). This is an important reading, but I would argue that "the potential for resistance" is not just on the margins of this scene but also right in its centre: Worcester himself, and his knight-companions, are a source of power distinct from the Gentlemen

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[292] Although I differ from Strong in my reading of this portrait, I am greatly indebted to the scrupulous research that led to his identification of its occasion, its artist and date, and the men it depicts.

[293] See Orgel's discussion of the pelican emblem in "Gendering the Crown," pp. 133-36.

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[294] Since the painting was commissioned by Worcester, Elizabeth is not likely to have had as much control over its programme as she had in other cases.

[295] In the Egerton MS sketch of "The Queen in her litter on her way from Whitehall to her coronation at Westminster at Westminster," on the day following the event Mulcaster recounts, Elizabeth's then-Master of the horse, Robert Dudley, is shown as following immediately *behind* the litter (Arthur F. Kinney 18).

Pensioners, and not entirely aligned with them but, rather, carefully distinguished. The significant attributes of all the knights are also depicted precisely, so that each is recognizable not only as a Knight of the Order of the Garter, but as a distinct individual. As Strong points out, "With one exception," the men's "faces can [even today] be identified with certainty" (*Gloriana* 154), and the scene has been arranged to fit in as many of Worcester's knight companions as possible. These figures are not just extras for the queen's big crowd scene. Moreover, the buildings that loom at the back of this non-realistic space are nowhere near the actual scene of the procession. In fact, they belong to Worcester.[296] Well may we ask: Whose portrait is this, anyway? Whose progress? Whose territory?

And how can we ignore those legs? Most of those awkward-looking knights are, clearly, painted from the same pattern—not uncommon for the hurried or unskillful Tudor artist. But lack of skill is not all we may read from this knightly frieze. The pattern the artist has used for these legs closely recalls the "heroic pose" that we have already encountered in Chapter One. Such heroic reiteration reinforces our uncertainty about whether these powerful men are here to honour and protect the queen, or to compete with her for the space she moves through. We may therefore read this display of heroic masculinity on all sides of the ceremonially disabled queen as performing a veiled threat to Elizabeth's safety or autonomy. Certainly it suggests that her continued mobility depends on these powerful men's good will, and can be read as evidence of the waning of the "Eliza cult" in the last years of her reign. Yet in one sense the portrait plays into Elizabeth's programme of self-representation, for it depicts her as both triumphant and threatened at once, just as she represented herself so many years before on the eve of her coronation.

In sheltering her triumph under the shadow of death in this way, the young Elizabeth recalls not only Foxe's narratives of her own and her mother's saintly sufferings, but also the triumphantly chaste Laura of Petrarch's six *Trionfi*, particularly as she is presented in the *Trionfo*

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[296] According to Strong, they are Chepstow Castle, Raglan Castle, and the Worcester Lodge at Nonsuch Palace (*Gloriana* 153-54).

*della Morte*. This is the third of Petrarch's six *Trionfi*, occupying a middle place in a series of dream visions that each describe an apparently decisive triumph—one that is, however, followed by a greater triumph that stresses the relative weakness of the power celebrated earlier. Only the *Trionfo della Divinità* is final. Thus Love triumphs over the narrator in the first *Trionfo* but Chastity triumphs over Love in the second, Fame over Death in the fourth, and so on. A tapestry depicting The Triumph of Death over Chastity "which was at one time the property of the Hapsburg royal family" follows this general pattern.[297] It shows the victor of the *Trionfo della Castità* being trampled under the chariot wheels of Death, who according to Petrarch's title is the official victor in this narrator (Florisoone 74). A tapestry depicting the Triumph of Death over chastity that "used to hang under the Minstrel Gallery in the Great Hall" at Hampton Court, is in a later style and "contains two triumphal cars, that of the victims at the left, that of the victors on the right (Marillier 17). In *both* cars, however, "Castitas" is represented in a figure of defeat.[298] Such representations follow a tradition much older than Petrarch. It is important to note, however, that Petrarch did not himself follow this pattern in his third, rule-breaking *Trionfo*: Death does not have the last word or achieve a decisive victory over Chastity. It is not defeat but triumph that Petrarch's chaste Laura finds in, and through, death.[299]

Pembroke's translation of the *Trionfo della Morte* is remarkably faithful to Petrarch's original on this point,[300] and thus departs from an interpretive tradition already well-established in the visual representations of the *Trionfo della Morte* circulating in early modern England.[301] The first chapter (*capitolo*) of her "Triumph of Death" features detailed descriptions of two largely independent triumphant processions, not one: that of Laura at the head of a "squadronet" of chaste women, and then the triumphant march of Death herself. Furthermore, Pembroke's text resists any attempt to read the latter as unequivocally superceding the former, despite the work's title and the sequence of events. The two armies do not clash; there is a meeting, but no contest. As Hannay *et al* point out, Pembroke's Laura does not submit to Death;[302] from her perspective, at least, Death is her guest to "entretaine" rather than a violent intruder (1.72). And the rest of Pembroke's text offers considerable support for Laura's view. For one thing, we never do see her actually joining Death's train in any position, let alone one of defeat. Pembroke provides a vivid description of Death's triumph over a sea of victims, but does not identify Laura as being among them. Instead, before the end of Chapter One the figure of Death disappears from the poem.[303] Although the first chapter ends with a poignant description of Laura's deathbed, the second chapter is dominated by a Laura possessed of more agency than ever, to such an extent that it is impossible to be certain whether Laura adds to Death's triumph, or the other way around. Dying, asserts Laura, has given her more "joye" than she had in life (2.39). Rather immodestly she tells the narrator, "well me lyke's (if true it be) my fame, / which farre and neere by thee related goes" (2.130-31). In addition to her fame, she also enjoys the power and liberty that she has now, dead, to speak eloquently and to reach out her bodiless hand to the suitor she said so little to (and touched not at all) while alive. This woman finds herself able to exercise and articulate her authority over her lover *through* death. Death serves her, and serves her well.

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[297] Currently held in the Kuntshistorisches Museum, Vienna.

[298] "On the left is the triumphal car of Chastity, boarded by two of the Fates, Clotho and Atropos, each designated by her name. "Castitas" is falling backwards ...; and Atropos, with a pair of shears in one hand, is directing a javelin at her bosom. ... On the right-hand car are the three Fates, with Atropos seated on a throne, and below them the captive figure of "Castitas" (Marillier 17-18).

[299] This sequence of six dream visions allegorically depicts a series of changes in state (whether emotional, attitudinal, physical, or spiritual) as someone's triumph over someone else, yet over all of these triumphs presides the figure of Laura: a virtuous, chaste woman who helps guide the narrator's spiritual growth but who relishes the worldly renown he gives her.

[300] As indeed she is on most points. "*The Triumph of Death* is the most remarkable instance of Pembroke's fidelity as a translator, a quality which distinguishes her most notably from Lord Morley. Not only does her translation have the same number of lines as in the Italian (Morley adds over 100 lines to the *Trionfo della Morte*), but it corresponds *terzina* for *terzina* to the original and even retains the *terza rima* stanza form (Morley uses couplets, a *to*[*u*]*r de force* not attempted again in an English version until 1836. ... Except for a few places that are lacking in clarity ..., the translation is mainly accurate" (Hannay *et al* 268).

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[301] See also discussion in introduction to Chapter Two.

[302] "Whereas Morley's Laura has not yet felt Death's 'fearefull stroke' (I.97), Pembroke's Laura 'Didst never yett unto [Death's] scepter bowe' (I. 63). Morley's Laura passively accepts Death, saying 'Do thou unto me as thou doest to all men' (I. 113). Pembroke's Laura is the noble lady greeting even this most unwelcome guest: 'As others doe, I shall thee entretain' (I.72)" (Hannay *et al*, 266).

[303] One could also say that the narrator moves on to the next stage—or tableau—of his dream, although it is not his movement that matters in this text.

"The Triumph of Death" also suggests that entertaining (the thought of) death served Laura well while she was alive, much as it did Elizabeth Tudor. The women at Laura's death bed characterize her as a "right mortall Goddesse" and lament the loss of her "Angell-lyke" voice; to them, Laura was always recognizable as one more like a citizen of heaven than of earth (2.124, 150). That this affiliation was Laura's choice is made clear in the opening lines of the "Triumph," when we learn that the rest of the women in Laura's victoriously chaste army are all already dead (1.60). Upon recognizing this fact, Death changes her approach. Whereas she begins in a confrontational manner, accusing Laura of "proudlie … / Standing upon thy youth, and beawties state" (I. 35-36), after recognizing Laura's companions Death offers her "counsell" (I. 64). "More honored by me, then others are / Thow shalt thee finde," promises Death (I. 67). The implication is that Death honours Laura because Laura, by her choice of companions, has shown Death honour first. Laura's right to head the procession of victorious women depends on her perfect eschewal of the too too sullied flesh, an eschewal she describes to her lover in the second chapter. If the only chaste woman is a dead woman, Laura has always qualified.

Thus, paradoxically, Laura's initial triumph, although *preceding* her encounter with Death in the poem's narrative, was actually only possible because she was *already* dead to the world of the flesh. The cryptic last stanza of the first chapter ends with the line, "Death faire did seeme to be in hir faire face" (1.172). The narrator looks on Laura's face and sees Death; he looks upon Death and sees her "faire." Victim and victor are united in one. It is in keeping with this identification that we find Laura such a regal figure, and as Hannay *et al* usefully point out, Pembroke's translation stresses Laura's dignity and authority in ways that the earlier translation by Henry Parker, Lord Morley does not.[304] Nevertheless, I believe Hannay *et al* oversimplify matters slightly in asserting that "Pembroke's translation presents Laura as a vibrant figure of joy and power, whose accomplishments are stressed in martial terms" (265).[305] Like the many self-representations of Queen Elizabeth we have considered, both in this chapter and in the first, Pembroke's Laura is active without ever being physical, and the exertion of physical force is surely the essence of early modern militarism. Instead, Pembroke introduces her heroine to us in language that emphasizes both a conventionally immobile virtue in the live Laura, and a complete lack of body to move with in the dead:

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[304] "The collective impact of Morley's epithets is to depict a Laura who is charming and almost girlish. She is a sweet maid, a 'fayre creature' who wears a garland (1.49, 104). Pembroke's Laura is more regal. She speaks with authority, acts with noble co[u]rtesy, and wears a coronet" (Hannay *et al*, 265).

> That gallant Ladie, gloriouslie bright,
> The statelie piller once of worthinesse,
> And now, a little dust, a naked spright:
> Turn'd from hir warre's a joyefull Conqueresse. (1.1-4)

Of course, as we have seen, military heroes like Pembroke's Antony and Caesar also wish their strength to be compared to that of pillars; Queen Elizabeth's "chastity, constancy and her imperial destiny" were often signified by a column, a device borrowed from Emperor Charles V (Strong, *Gloriana* 104-05). What is unusual in Pembroke's depiction of Laura is the absence of references to the active deployment of that strength, even allegorically. The description of Laura's weapons further emphasizes the heroine's traditionally feminine attributes: she vanquished Love, we are told, by wielding "chaste heart, faire visage, upright thought, / [and] wise speache, which did with honor linked goe" (1.8-9). Only after the first line of description is complete does Pembroke supplement it with a reference to anything even so risky as "wise speache." This late addition to the list also comes carefully qualified by that ultimate chaperone, "honor." And how these weapons achieved their effect is left to the imagination. We do see the evidence of Laura's victory, a scene of "strange wonders wrought / with shivered bowe, chaste arrowe's, quenched flame, / while-here som slaine, and there laye others caught" (1.10b-12). But we are not shown the process by which such "strange wonders" were produced. At no point are we invited to imagine Laura in action; even Pembroke's description of the conqueresses' actual movement, "No earthlie march, but heavenly, did they hould," ends on a strangely static verb (1.19). There is much that is regal, but very little that is martial, about Laura's appearance, her company, or her demeanour in this encounter. Making a distinction between the two in the context of a performance genre that is martial in origin, is, I would argue, the point.[306]

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[305] Such a "vibrant figure" of a female as Laura is risks suggesting physical vitality, and is thus a threat to masculinist constructions of power that locate power in the male body.

In other ways, however, Pembroke's text makes distinction difficult, achieving its effect partly through problematizing representation itself; both the characters described by the narrator, and the reader, repeatedly are confronted with vivid images that are nevertheless difficult to make sense of.[307] Death mocks Laura's past mockery of *her* (Death's) blindness, only to proceed to demonstrate her own considerable difficulty with reading what she sees:

> Thow Dame, quoth she, that doeth so proudlie goe,
> Standing upon thy youth, and beawties state,
> And of thy life, the limit's doest not knowe.
> Loe, I am shee, so fierce, importunate,
> And deafe, and blinde, entytled oft by yow,
> yow, whom with night ere evening I amate.
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

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[306] In the second chapter, Laura also abjures martial regalia:

> When loe, a Ladie, lyke unto the tyde
> with Orient jewells crown'd, from thousands moe
> Crouned as she; to me, I coming spyde:
> And first hir hand, somtime desyred so
> Reaching to me; at-once she sygh't and spake …
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Then doune she sat, and me sitt-doune she made.
> Thought, wisedome, Meekenesse in one grace did strive,
> On pleasing bank in bay, and beeches shade. (II. 7-11, 16-18)

Her ""Coronets" (I. 27) she has replaced with a crown of "Orient Jewells"; her companions likewise suggest the Orient, rather than the Amazon; and she uses her hand, not to bear arms, but to reach out and invite her lover to "sitt-doune" in "beeches shade." The bay leaves stay on the tree; they crown no victor's head in this scene. She enjoys the fame of the conqueress without the exercise.

[307] The narrator describes another image appearing out of nowhere to share our attention, if not any particular place, with the "squadronet, " when suddenly a new woman appears, also with a train, this time of Furies.:

> And as gain'd honor, filled with jollitie
> Each gentle heart, so made they merrie cheere,
> when loe, an ensigne sad I might descrie,
> Black, and in black, a woman did appeere,
> Furie with hir, such as I scarcelie knowe
> If lyke at Phlegra with the Giants were. (I. 28-33)

With no real action, no entrances or exits, nothing to locate the narrator or those he sees in space or time, suddenly Death is there in the midst of their "jollitie." Yet we cannot be sure whether Death's arrival on the scene coincides with Her appearance in the narrator's field of vision, as his description is qualified with the surprising phrase, "I might descrie." The requirements of neither rhyme nor rhythm account for Pembroke's choice of verb, "might," which represents sight as uncertain, while also emphasizing the active choice involved in seeing and interpreting.

> As one whose eye som noveltie attend,
> And what it mark't not first, it spyde at last,
> New wonders with it-self, now comprehends.
> So far'd the cruell, deepelie over-gast
> With doubt awhile, then spake, I knowe them now.
> I now remember when my teethe they past.
> Then with less frowning, and lesse darkned browe,
> But thow that lead'st this goodlie companie,
> Didst never yett unto my scepter bowe. (1.34-39, 55-63)

At first, she does not even mark the women in Laura's train (in other words, they are invisible to her); then she "wonders"; finally she "comprehends." Remarkably, even Death's black brow can be "darkned" by confusion. The dead members of the squadronet are illegible to Death because they accompany the living Laura: recognizing either requires seeing both differently.

In other words, Death's ability to reason is dependent on her evidently imperfect ability to see. This is especially noteworthy, given the increasingly popular myth of the objective eye that affirms vision as superior to the other senses and assumes an identity between seeing and knowing for the reasonable (male) viewer, and given also the fact that the reading of Petrarch's allegorical *Trionfi* that was already well-established by the time Pembroke wrote her translation is that it represents the triumph of reason over passion. Pembroke's text rather suggests that seeing is active, contingent, uncertain—and creative. It also suggests that new understanding can sometimes only be achieved when what one sees evokes neither reason nor even recognition, but confusion—and other feelings too.[308] Pembroke's portrayal of Death, Laura, and their relationship problematizes not only the triumph/defeat binary but the reason/passion binary as well.

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[308] Following Death's moment of discovery, the images of Pembroke's "Triumph" continue to shift and blur, both for the reader and for the narrator. As soon as Laura agreed to "entretaine" Death, reports the narrator, he suddenly

> … with-all descryde
> Of dead appeere a never-numbred summe,
> Pestring the plaine, from one to th'other side. (1.73b-75)

Not now or later does he again refer to Laura's train of chaste fair women, or tell us what the effect was on them of this macabre plague. Clearly, he no longer marks them. One could conclude that Laura's acceptance of Death has inspired the narrator to see the truer vision, but the "Pestring" dead also disappear from sight, and we come back to Laura, more alive than ever.

In this we may see some similarities between Pembroke's *Triumph* and her *Antonius*. Despite the companionable concord achieved between Laura and her lover in Chapter Two, problems with recognition and interpretation continue to be a central concern for the narrator:

> My Goddesse, who me died, and doeth revive,
> Can I but knowe? (I sobbing answered)
> But art thow dead? Ah speake, or yett alive?
> Alive am I: And thow as yett art dead,
> And as thow art shalt so continue still
> Till by thy ending hower, thow hence be led. (2.19-24)

Now Laura is recognized as both living and dead at once. Once again, this moment of complete disorientation is also the moment of insight. The epistemological crisis Pembroke's narrator experiences in the "Triumph" is very similar to that experienced by her Antony in *Antonius*; the means by which these crises are resolved in both works are even more similar. In response to Antony's loss of faith in her, Pembroke's Cleopatra represents herself to him as dead; like Laura, she finds that once her lover *sees* her as fully accepting death, she is able to reach out to him in a way she could not do before. Such a reading of both "The Triumph of Death" and *Antonius* helps to resolve the problem implicit in the following assessment:

> Pembroke's translation of the *Trionfo della Morte* thus dramatizes the same problem of passion versus reason as does *Antonius*. Laura and Cleopatra represent opposite poles of female behavior; the chaste Laura leads her lover to God, while the passionate Cleopatra causes her lover's destruction. Yet both women are eloquent and both die nobly. (Hannay *et al* 267)

This analysis raises an important question: why would Pembroke endorse (which we may infer she does from her choice to translate both texts) stories that give the same noble ending to two completely opposite women? Without minimizing the differences between Cleopatra's unapologetically sexual nature and Laura's unswervingly chaste one, I would question the extent to which Pembroke agrees with identifying chastity with reason, and suggest that the two women's relationships with their lovers, and their roles in these lovers' fates, are actually remarkably similar.[309] First, while Pembroke's Antony certainly accuses Cleopatra of causing his destruction, a reading with which Caesar concurs,[310] we may recall that a strong case can be made for saying that Antony has his own passion to thank for his troubles. Second, even though Antony is politically and physically destroyed (whether through his own fault or Cleopatra's), his end, largely the result of Cleopatra's loving labours, is in many ways as much apotheosis as fall. As Sanders argues, here "Sidney challenged the humanist model of the ideal woman as a figure of virtuous passivity, Chastity on a monument reading psalms, and valorized in its place a model of action not alabaster, Cleopatra toiling physically to raise the dying Antony to the top of a building for a last embrace, passion exemplified in a feat of heroic exertion" (92). With a clearly explained rationale and a well-thought-out plan of action, both informed by the intensity and truth of her passion, Cleopatra like Laura raises her lover to a higher plane (in Cleopatra's case, quite literally) with a devotion that cherishes the lover and the love more than the flesh of self. First, she moves him from his self-pity and blame into grief:

> Then sent him worde, she was no more alive,
> But lay inclosed dead within hir Tombe.
> This he beleev'd; and fell to sigh and grone,
> And crost his armes, then thus began to mone. (5.1599-1602)

Then she moves him out of grief into joy:

> Then fell he new to crie and vexe himselfe,
> Untill a man from *Cleopatra* came,
> Who said from hir he had commaundement
> To bring him to hir to the monument.
>  The poor soule at these words even rapt with Joy
> Knowing she liv'd, prai'd us him to convey
> Unto his Ladie. (51637-43a)

Finally she elevates him to join her in a liminal death-in-life:

> With haire which careles on hir forhead hong,

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[309] Bearing in mind that by claiming the title "wife" Cleopatra describes herself as one who is both sexual and chaste. Lamb's argument that Cleopatra combines Stoic contempt for life with an insistence on the importance of her wifely love also implies, though she does not explicitly assert it, that Pembroke is challenging the reason/passion binary in this play.

[310] "Presumptuouse pride of high and hawtie sprite, / Voluptuouse care of fonde and foolish love, / Have justy wrought his wrack," intones Agrippa, Caesar's yes-man (4.1413-15).

> With brest which blowes had bloudilie benumb'd,
> With stooping head, and bodie down-ward bent,
> Enlast hir in the corde, .and with all force
> This life-dead man couragiously uprais'de.
> The bloud with paine into hir face did flowe
> Hir sinewes stiff, her selfe did breathles growe. (5.1660-66)

Both Laura and Cleopatra prove their greatness in their willingness to deny themselves fleshly pleasure of any kind rather than contribute to an imperfect understanding of love on the part of the beloved.

Laura differs significantly from Cleopatra in exercising reasoned discipline over her own passions, but as she tells it her understanding led her to discipline her lover's passions, not through logical argument, but by manipulating his feelings, teaching him to see love differently through a sustained estrangement that even Brecht could be proud of:

> Then sighing, thus she answered: Never were
> Our hearts but one, nor never two shall be:
> Onelie thy flame I tempred with my cheere.
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Thus glad, and sad, in pleasure, and annoye;
> what [*sic*] red, colde pale; thus farre I have thee brought
> wearie, but safe, to my no little joy. (2.88-90, 118-120)

Pembroke's Cleopatra could have said the exact same thing to her Antony.

In the final act of *Antonius*, the audience itself undergoes a sustained defamiliarization. Cleopatra's last scene in Pembroke's text, in contrast with Daniel's, invites us to picture her dead—but to picture her in many other ways and moments as well. It stresses the permeability, vulnerability, and fluidity of Cleopatra's body, through deploying a constellation of incommensurable images that have the power to, in Diamond's words, immerse us "in the unrecorded history of our social existence—in the conflicting loops, freeze-frames, vanishings, fragmented memories—that aesthetic time banishes" (147). Cleopatra looks dead when she is not, cries when she cannot, and plans what she will do in the future even as she expires. Neither she, nor this final moment, is fully coherent, can be fully realized.

The transition between Cleopatra's farewell to her children, and her farewell to life, is marked by a debate between Charmion and Eras over how to read their queen's body and how to interpret and respond to this moment. When her children leave Cleopatra faints, in this case uttering her own stage directions:

> CHILDREN. Madame Adieu.
> CLEOPATRA. Ah this voice killes me. Ah good Gods! I swounde.
> I can no more, I die. (5.1891b-93a)

Eras and Charmion either mistake her swoon for death, or bring her back from the brink of death with their entreaties:

> ERAS. Her face is frozen. CHARMION. Madame for Gods love
> Leave us not thus: bidd us yet first farwell.
> Alas! wepe over *Antonie*: Let not
> His bodie be without due rites entomb'de.
> CLEOPATRA. My Sisters, holde me up. How wretched I .... (5.1901-06)

Temporarily revived, Cleopatra yet remains disoriented, and her dialogue disorients us as well. When Cleopatra asks, "What say I? where am I?" Pembroke makes it difficult for us to answer the question (5.1983), for despite all the vivid imagery of this last passage, it is difficult to read the text as one in which stage directions are always straightforwardly inscribed, despite its tempting descriptions. For one thing, Cleopatra insists both that she *does* weep and that she *cannot* weep. Although she looked "frozen" a few seconds ago, she now compares herself to "weeping *Niobe*," insists that she "waile[s]" Antony (5.1909, 1916), and points out as we have seen that she "the heavens wrathe / Into a Stone not yet transformed hath" (5.1917-18). "For me," Cleopatra asserts, "I sigh, I ceasles wepe, and waile" (5.1923).[311] But in almost her next breath she complains:

> Alas, how much I weeping liquor want!
> Yet have mine eies quite drawne their Conduits drie
> By long beweeping my disastred harmes.
> ...................................
> Then let the bloud from my sad eies out flow,
> And smoking yet with thine in mixture grow. (5.1938-40, 43-44)

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[311] Eras and Charmion invite one another to join her: Eras says "let us wepe" and Charmion echoes her, "Ah let us wepe / While moisture lasts, then die before his feete" (5.1931, 1933).

This tells us that Cleopatra has no tears. And we cannot read her determination to "let the bloud from my sad eies out flow" as an embedded stage direction. This is not *Oedipus Rex*. However one were to stage this scene, some of Cleopatra's self-representation must either contradict her appearance, or at least complicate our reading of it.

Finally, in Cleopatra's parting lines she shifts into the future tense, to describe what she will do not only in the afterlife but the present one:

> Die will I straight now, now streight will I die,
> And streight with thee a wandring shade will be,
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> But yet I stay, and yet thee over live,
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> A thousand sobbes I from my brest will teare,
> With thousand plaints thy funeralles adorne:
> My haire shall serve for thy oblations,
> My boiling teares for they effusions,
> Mine eies thy fire. (5.1993-94, 1999-2003)

Even though on her very last line she expresses the desire that "Fainting on you, ... fourth my soule may flowe" (5.2022), she defers the moment, planning first to give him "A thousand kisses, thousand thousand more" (5.2019). This could take some time. It is thus impossible to determine how close she is to physical death, even though her determination to die is indisputable.

In speaking to her companions, furthermore, Cleopatra uses the imperative, again focusing on what will be done in the future:

> Wepe my companions, wepe, and from your eies
> Raine downe on him of teares a brinish streame.
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
> Martir your breasts with multiplied blowes,
> With violent hands teare of your hanging haire,
> Outrage your face: alas! why should we seeke
> (Since now we die) our beawties more to kepe? (5.2005—12)

The best answer I can think of to her rhetorical question is that they should "seeke" their "beawties more to kepe" only because the waiting audience of Caesar (or the waiting Caesars in the audience) may desire it. Instead, Cleopatra is determined to "kepe" herself and her companions as unrecognizable and unpredictable as possible.

## 2. "Appoynted to the fielde": Eyewitness accounts of the triumphant woman martyr

> Lyke as the armed knyght
> Appoynted to the field
> With this worlde wyl I fyght
> And fayth shalbe my shyelde.
> - "The Balade which Anne Askewe made and sange
> whan she was in Newgate," Bale, *First Examinacio[n]*, D4

One need not always avoid the dreaded "couch scene" of death by ending the action of a play just before the heroine expires. In *Mariam*, Cary has a Nuntio report Mariam's off-stage death instead. Although this is a classic Senecan strategy, the account that Cary's fictional Nuntio gives of Mariam's death in act 5 of *The Tragedy of Mariam* also shares many features with sixteenth-century eyewitness accounts of women's triumphant martyrdoms, including John Bale's report and "elucydacyon" of Anne Askew's examinations and execution, Foxe's descriptions of Anne Boleyn's death, and Robert Wyngfield's eye-witness "Narrative" of Mary Queen of Scots's execution.[312] Each of these texts claims transformative effect on those who witnessed the woman's public acceptance of suffering, and each sets out to recreate that effect in its readers. Given the popularity of such accounts, it is reasonable to conclude that Cary's own choice to present a similarly-styled eye-witness account in the fifth act of her tragedy may reflect a belief in the transformative effect such narratives could have on their auditories—within both the world of the play and that of the closet in which the play is read.[313] Like Bale, Foxe, and Wyngfield, Cary emphasizes the dignity of her subject; like Bale, she refrains from giving details about the execution itself, stressing instead Mariam's speech and comportment. Like Bale, Wyngfield and Mulcaster, even though the latter two were both reluctant witnesses to the dignity of a queen to whom their devotion was by no means perfect, Cary establishes her heroine's virtue by painting a dialectical image of the woman as at once violently dead and vitally alive. Cary's text acknowledges the power an eye-witness account can have, but while observing the decorum of having a male voice report and interpret her heroine's last words and actions, Cary simultaneously reclaims for a woman—herself—the authorship of her text, which presents a female martyr much less deferential to authority than some of her models.

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[312] Although Strickland's 1843 edition identifies "R.W.," the author of this "Narrative," as one "Richard Wigmore" (264), contemporary scholars agree on identifying him as Robert Wyngfield or Wingfield.

[313] A historical example of the eyewitness account as dramatic performance, not in the closet but in the Chapel Royal, designed to influence the hearer's attitude towards an event that the hearer herself (in this case) had ordered, is Richard Fletcher's sermon before Queen Elizabeth only a few days after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. Fletcher had attended in his capacity as Dean of Peterborough, within which diocese lies Fotheringhay. Both Fletcher's strategies and his objective, as described by Peter E. McCullough, appear at first glance very different from those used by, for instance, Bale in his report on Anne Askew's examinations and martyrdom, or Cary's Nuntio. Instead of increasing his sovereign's rage or shame at her recent commanding of a queen's death, Fletcher sets out to defuse it; he defends the execution and rebukes Elizabeth's pity and guilt. And unlike Cary's and Pembroke's messengers, or Bale, Fletcher does not mention a single detail of the execution or the executed woman's behaviour prior to her death. Preaching a sermon on a Biblical text, Fletcher uses typological connections to identify Mary Queen of Scots with Herod Antipas, and to identify his listener, Elizabeth, with both Joseph, hiding out in the land of Egypt, and King David, grieving over the death in battle of his son Absalom. Fletcher thereby suggests that Elizabeth must take a place among her people that she is currently leaving vacant and get back to work.

Bale, Foxe, Wyngfield, and Cary's Nuntio all emphasize the regal dignity of the woman whose death they describe. Wyngfield notes Mary Stuart's composure:

> ... she seemed not be [*sic*] in any terror for aught that appered by any hir outward gesture or behaviour (other then marvelling shee should dye), but rather with smiling cheer and pleasing countenaunce, digested and accepted the sayde admonition of preparacion to hir (as shee sayde) unexpected execution, saying that hir death should be welcome unto hir .... (253)

Although Foxe does not mention the fact that Anne Boleyn "wore a robe of dark gray and a long white cape from her shoulders, the perfect combination of mourning and purity" (Mitchell 24), he does emphasize "her modesty," and he refers to her repeatedly as "this Christian lady" or "that godly lady" (24). Anne Askew was not a queen, but Bale similarly stresses her gentle lineage and dignified comportment: she is a "a gentylwoman verye yonge, dayntye, and tender" (A5), he tells us at the outset, one who could greet her judges with a silent smile.[314] In similar terms, Cary's Nuntio describes how "The stately Mariam" (5.1.26) responds when Alexandra "did upon her

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Yet Fletcher, like Cary's Nuntio, sets out to criticize his sovereign in her presence, a presence he has gained by virtue of his double status as witness and trusted servant; and he does so by constructing dialectical images that identify the virtuous queen with both humble obedience to divine directive and triumph. It is not Mary's triumphant martyrdom, but Elizabeth's refusal to complete her own, that Fletcher emphasizes, offering to his queen in the figures of David and Joseph an acceptable means of way of figuring her authority.

[314] "Besydes thys my lorde Mayre layed one thynge vnto my charge whiche was neuer spoken of me, but of them. And that was whether a mouse eatynge the hoste, receyued God or no? Thys questyon ded I neuer aske but indede they asked it of me, wherunto I made them no answere, but smyled" [Image 16?]

daughter loudly rail" (5.1.36); Mariam "made no answer, but she look'd the while, / As if thereof she scarce did notice take, / Yet smil'd, a dutiful, though scornful, smile" (5.1.50-52). Cary stands out from her male models in making her heroine's scorn as obvious as her duty. Nevertheless, all four narratives portray women whose silence partakes of both feminine passivity and masculine self-possession.

Nor is silence the only means by which these women perform self-possession; each woman's dignity is also conveyed in her exercise of choice over whether and in what way to respond to her interrogators. According to Bale, Askew often met her accusers with articulate rebuttal or reproof, which Bale at one point describes as "tauntynge thys Byshoppe" (I3v). Queen Anne also, as Mitchell points out, "made excellent use of submission to subvert the state narrative" at her execution" (24). In her speech, which I here quote from Foxe, "Anne shows herself to be a good subject, submitting to the King's will" (Mitchell 24):

> "Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for by the law I am judged to death; and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused; but I pray God save the king and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler, more merciful prince was there never: to me he was ever a good, gentle, and sovereign lord. If any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. Lord, have mercy on me." And so she kneeled down, saying, "To Christ I commend my soul; Jesus receive my soul," repeating the same divers times till at length the stroke was given and her head strucken off. (131)

Certainly Anne must have been aware, and expected her audience to be aware, of the irony involved in praising for gentleness and mercy the one who has condemned her to death. Her ambiguous syntax may even, as Mitchell suggests, be read as encouraging "'meddling in her cause,' planting the seeds of revenge for her death" (302). It is a matter of record that, following her speech, a considerable number of people did decide to "meddle": Mitchell reports that "Within two weeks, ballads circulated in London portrayed her as a heroine. Henry would not make the same mistake again. His next wife to take the block, Catherine Howard, was not allowed to speak in her own defense before her death" (24).

Mary's defiance of Dean Fletcher may also be read as a courteous sort of "tauntynge": when she had mounted the scaffold, Fletcher exhorted her to repent as he had been commanded to do, in response to which, according to Wyngfield, Mary "three or four times sayde unto him, 'Mr. Deane, trouble not yourself nor me; for now, that I am settled in the auncient Cautholique and Romaine religion, and in defence therof, by God's grace, I minde to spend my bloud'" (258). Both Bale and Wyngfield also report their subjects sending messages to their condemners. Askew provides her account to her supporters not only for their encouragement, but to ensure that, as she notes:

> the counsell is not a lyttle dyspleased, that it shulde be reported abroade, that I was racked in the towre. They saye nowe, that they dyd there, was but to feare me. Wherby I perceyue, they are ashamed of their vncomelye doynges, and feare moch least the kynges mageste shuld haue informacion therof. Wherfore they woulde no man to noyse it. (M8)

She also includes in this document, intended for the eye of the "counsell" and "the kynges mageste," a prayer that "thou wylte of thy mooste mercyfull goodnesse, forgeue them that vyolence, whyche they do and haue done vnto me. Open also thou theyr blynde hartes .... So be it. O Lorde, so be it. By me Anne Askewe" (O3). Mary similarly asks her servant Sir Andrew Melville to "'carry this message from me, that I dye a trewe woman to my religion, and like a trewe Queene of Scotland and Fraunce. But God forgive them' (sayde shee) 'that have long desired my end and thirsted for my bloud'" (Wyngfield 255). And Mariam sends a message to Herod that could well be described as taunting: "'By three days hence, if wishes could revive, / I know himself would make me oft alive'" (5.1.77-78). To convey a respectful tone the Nuntio repeats twice Mariam's address to Herod as "my Lord" (5.1.67, 73). But like Bale, Foxe, and Wyngfield, he portrays a woman who wants those she forgives to know about it.

All four narratives also employ the discourse of the triumph, although in slightly different ways according to the subject matter and the agenda of the eye-witness. Although Bale does not speak literally of Askew's martyrdom as a triumph, he surrounds her in the reader's imagination with a large enough cloud of witnesses to make quite a respectable train: in addition to the three companions “put vnto moste cruell deathe in Smythfelde” (A3v), Bale invokes such specifically Protestant “foreronners” as “Wyllam Tydall [*sic*], Robarte Barnes, & suche other more, whome Antychristes vyolence hathe sent hens in fyre to heauen” (A3); a Frenchwoman, “Blandina in the prymatiue churche” (B1v), and “a greate sorte more” of early martyrs (G4v). Wyngfield, similarly, reports Mary Stuart’s anticipation of joining, as their peer, “the glorious Virgin Mary, and ... all the saints, angels, and the blessed who are in Paradise, [of whom she asks] that they will please to intercede now for me to God, and that I may be partaker, and *reign* perpetually *with them*, in the celestial glory’” (250, emphasis added). In Mariam’s case, the Nuntio suggests only one companion for her queen who could be considered a martyr, the “sainted Abel” (5.1.139). However, because Mariam is a pre-Christian martyr, the typological reading by which Mariam is compared to Christ and the Butler to Judas is more appropriate than the sort of spiritual genealogy Bale provides Askew. Furthermore, Mariam establishes herself as one who deserves the companionship of saints and apostles by speaking prophetically, as she does in the above-quoted passage about Herod’s future repentance. Herod, in contrast to the wiser Nuntio, compares Mariam to numerous female figures—“her grandam Sara” (5.1.180), “Leda’s beauty” (5.1.217), “Venus” (5.1.219) and “Cinthia” (5.1.234)—all possessing a beauty supernatural or nearly so.[315] But if, for the Nuntio, it is Abel, for the reader it is the Butler whose actions ultimately lend authority to Mariam’s, who bears witness to her saintliness. The Nuntio reports, “As I came by, / From Mariam’s death, I saw upon a tree / A man that to his neck a cord did tie,” who said, “‘Go tell the King he trusted ere he tried. / I am the cause that Mariam causeless died’” (103b-05, 109-110). In this Cary may be following the example of Foxe, who calls Henry VIII himself as witness to Anne’s innocence: “this also may seem to give a great clearing unto her, that the king the third day after was married in his whites unto another” (131). A confessed betrayer makes as good a witness as a fellow martyr.

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[315] “To judge by the information Genesis supplies on the relative ages of Abraham and Sarah, Sarah is at least sixty-five when Pharaoh is stirred by her beauty and eighty-nine when she attracts the attention of Abimelech, king of Gerar” (Weller and Ferguson 175).

Bale also differs from Foxe, Wyngfield and from Cary's Nuntio in the degree of androgyny he ascribes to the woman he celebrates; this may be because Askew was officially executed for her religion, but Anne's and Mary's deaths were, like Mariam's, at least technically "the civil variant of martyrology" (24). Though a man, Abel is known only for his obedience unto death, not for the exercise of any particularly masculine traits. Yet Bale, despite the time he gives to describing Blandina and the parallels between her life and Askew's, also invites comparison between Askew and more conventionally masculine heroes. Most obviously, he does so by including Askew's ballad, quoted in the epigraph to this section, in which Askew compares herself to "the armed knyght." However, Bale also suggests that she has properly exercised *masculine* powers when he comments that "The martyrdome of Anne Askewe and her Bretherne, was neyther in battelinge nor huntynge, rydynge nor drynkynge, but in that ryght course which Christ prescribed vnto his dyscyples vnder the cruell Byshoppes, for his onlye glorye" (G8). Lady Jane Grey, striving for the status—and the peace of mind—of a true martyr, expresses her aspiration in language similar to Askew's. She concludes her heartbreaking "Prayer Made of the Lady Jane in the Time of Her Trouble" with the words, "Therfore, doe with me in all thinges what thou wylt, & plage me what way thou wilt: onley in the meane time arme me, I beseech thee, with my armour, that I maye stand fast" (42).[316] But such explicitly androgynous discourse is more appropriate for a martyr than for a condemned traitor or adulterer. In the case of Wyngfield's account of Mary Stuart's execution, the emphasis is rather on her female body, and her very feminine attention to her attire: "the sayde Queen being of stature tall, of bodye corpulent, rownde shouldred, hir face fatt and broade, double chinned, and hazell eyed," he tells us. He then proceeds to describe "hir attyre" for almost another two hundred words (254), a topic to which he returns with a disturbing zeal for detail in his description of Mary's disrobing on the scaffold (261-62). Nevertheless, as Jayne Elizabeth Lewis argues compellingly, despite

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[316] Both Lady Jane and Askew refer, of course, to St. Paul's advice to "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil" (Eph. 6:11).

Wyngfield's attempt to "lay her [*i.e.* Mary Stuart's] faintly lascivious artistry bare," an attempt which makes his "text a classic example of the propaganda against Mary Stuart that engulfed the British Isles during the reign" of Elizabeth (14), his text at the same time entirely fails to locate a single, identifiable body. What he cannot locate he cannot "lay bare."

It is not only the fact that Wyngfield insists on reporting in detail an event that more sympathetic accounts omit, namely the moment when "The Executioners lifted upp the head, and bad God save the Queen. Then hir dressinge of Lawne [and the auburn wig it turns out she had been wearing to her death] fell from hir head, which appeared as gray as if shee had byn thre score and ten years olde, powled very shorte" (262-3). This detail alone could be taken simply to indicate malice, but Wyngfield's attitude towards his subject is much more complicated. Lewis's analysis is worth quoting in full:

> [Wyngfield's] long report to Elizabeth ... captured—and inverted—every detail of Mary's dress and deportment, from her "borrowed hair" under its "dressing of lawn" to her "boots of Spanish leather." The Protestant Englishman omitted neither the Queen of Scots's flirtatious asides to those charged with removing her sumptuous black, green and crimson costume nor the showy rosary that rattled at her waist.
>
> As he neared the end of his litany of impostures, Wyngfield naturally tabulated the "two strokes" of the executioner's axe that "left a gristle behind," presumably necessitating [as described in other accounts] a third application of the hatchet. But in a rare display of compunction he neglected to mention this final stroke. The climax of his account comes, thus, not at the moment when Mary's head left her neck—strictly speaking, that moment never arrives—but rather at the one subsequent to it, when, he tells us, her fetching headdress slipped to reveal that the formidable figure of a few seconds before not only was no more but, in a sense, had never been, "her face being in a moment so much altered from its form when she was alive, as few could remember her by her dead face." Wyngfield's failure to register the decisive moment when Mary's head left her neck is of a piece with his insistence that the wizened woman at the scaffold was not the same queen, "of stature tall, of body corpulent," who had so recently made her way toward it. Along with the decidedly fantastic claim that Mary's "lips stirred up and down almost a quarter of an hour after her head was cut off," these peculiarities conspire to deny that the Queen of Scots actually died at the time she was beheaded. (13-14)

I fully agree with Lewis's conclusion that "if Wyngfield's report of her telltale 'dressing of lawn' and chattering jaws presents Mary Stuart as a garish fraud, the same details also keep her in motion. Indeed, those details' extravagance, unto incredibility, suggest that the dead queen actually unleashed a flood of desire in our hostile Protestant author ... for the moment of her death never to arrive, or end" (15). Instead of representing Mary as both masculine and feminine, then, Wyngfield represents his subject as both old and young and, as all our eyewitnesses do, as both alive and dead. This is much like Dircitus's description of Cleopatra to Antony, as scripted by Cleopatra in act 2 of *Antonius*: she asks him to circulate multiple, incommensurate images of an unrecognizable body.[317] Portraits of Mary produced after her execution similarly combined images of her in life with "inset plates that featured the closing scene at Fotheringay" (Lewis 51). As such representations "suspended the Queen of Scots at some tantalizing point between life and death, the portraiture of martyrdom kept her body a catalyst for the very political and religious passions that decapitation was meant to extinguish" (Lewis 50). It is just such incommensurable details as Wyngfield provides that "keep her in motion," and that Cary and Pembroke understand to keep the hearers and viewers of such texts in some degree of awe.

Bale and Cary's Nuntio both also insist on the vitality and the mortality of the women they celebrate, producing effects calculated to create either awe or madness in their auditory. According to Bale, "lyuelye and quyck was Anne Askewe in *all* her enprisoninges and tormentes" (A7v, emphasis added). "Quick" means "alive" as well as "speedy." The Nuntio plays with Herod thus:

> NUNTIO. ... Your Mariam greets you well.
> *Enter Herod.*
> HEROD. What? lives my Mariam? Joy, exceeding joy!
> She shall not die.
> NUNTIO. Heav'n doth your will repel. (5.1.13b-15)

Cary plays with her auditory in similar fashion, for when the Nuntio tries to say as bluntly and explicitly as possible that "Her body is divided from her head" (90), Herod replies, "I see she is alive, methinks you smile" (138). At this moment, as Ferguson points out, Herod comes "to value Mariam's voice at the moment when the disputed property of her body is absent both from the stage and from the narrative 'present' ("Specter" 246). Juxtaposing Herod's irrational assertion with the Nuntio's factual statement, Cary represents Mariam to the reader not as a victim but as a martyr triumphant. Because they remain so lively and quick after death, both Mariam and Askew could claim Mary Stuart's motto as their own: *En mon fin est mon commencement.*[318]

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[317] Discussed in a previous chapter.

Lewis certainly suggests that Mary Stuart's end was the beginning of Wyngfield's fascination with her; indeed, we may take him as his own account's best evidence of martyrdom's corroborating evidence: the powerful effect it is reported to have had on those who witnessed it. Bale reports that "lyke as the Centuryon with those that were with hym, for the tokens shewed at Christes deathe, confessed hym to be y$^{e}$ sonne of God, Math. xxvii. So dyd a greate nombre at the burnynge of these martyrs ... afferme them to be his faythfull members" (D7v). Bale has his Centurion; Cary has her Judas; Wyngfield has himself, apologizing to his "very good Lord" for including "many thinges might well have been omitted, as not worthie notinge" (263), including Mary's "praying, in English, for Christe's afflicted church ... and for the queen's majestye, to God for forgiveness of the sinns of them in this islande" (261). Bale's tone here implies that he expects his own report to have as great an effect on his readers as the event itself had on those present. In modelling her Nuntio after such witnesses, Cary is employing popular and proven strategies for countering the performance of guilt that is any sentence of death.

In previous chapters, I discuss Pembroke's and Cary's interrogation of the increasing pressure on women at the turn of the seventeenth century to invite and accommodate the anatomizing gaze. One effective defense against the pressure to do so, as Cary's Salome and Pembroke's Cleopatra both know, and as Cary's Mariam to at least some extent learns, is the deliberate practice of what Shakespeare refers to as "infinite variety," or what Butler refers to as "performative subversion" (see *Gender Trouble*, Chapter 3, "Subversive Bodily Acts"). Both Pembroke's and Cary's martyred queens triumph in performances that refuse the spectacle of a staged execution to satisfy the authoritative gaze of either their captor and judge on stage, or of us, the complicit audience. By their refusal to do so, they create a new space in which it is possible for men and women alike to imagine the revolutionary potential of seeing double. In scripting the eye-witness accounts of Dircitus and the Nuntio, Pembroke and Cary each scripts a necessarily gestic performance that, in Diamond's terms, "splits the gaze of the spectator who, as a reader of a complex sign system, cannot consume or reduce the object of her vision to a monolithic project of the self" (53). Both Cleopatra and Mariam approach death in such a way as to represent themselves as wholly (and therefore holy) unknowable.

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[318] Mary Stuart had this motto embroidered upon her Chair of State (Maurice Baring vii).

# Conclusion

## Framing Histories

> Feminist film theorists, fellow-traveling with psychoanalysis and semiotics, have given us a lot to think about but we, through Brechtian theory, have something to give them: a female body in representation that resists fetishization and a viable position for the female spectator.
>
> - Elin Diamond, *Unmaking Mimesis*, p. 44

> Lack of access created a sort of opportunity. – Heather Inglis, Interview

In the spring of 2003, the Edmonton production company Kill Your Television Theatre produced *Shakespeare's R&J*, adapted by Joe Calarco, directed by Kevin Sutley.[319] In this version of the classic love story, four students —all male—meet clandestinely to read through Shakespeare's script, for their Catholic prep school has forbidden it. Over time their relationships to themselves, to one another, and to their institution are transformed, as the students "'become' the play" (Calarco 8) and two of them—those who have chosen to take on the roles of Romeo and Juliet for their readings—fall in love, and encounter the hostile resistance of teachers and peers. In a sense, *Shakespeare's R&J* asks us to imagine the opposite of what this project calls for, as the four students take a script written for the commercial stage and, in effect, turn it into a closet drama. As Calarco explains, "The actors cast are ... playing students first and foremost, students who are acting out *Romeo & Juliet*" (6). Furthermore, although Calarco's adaptation portrays the experience of reading a drama closet-style as one with powerfully disruptive, decentring, and liberatory effects on those directly involved and on the world confronted by the readers' transformation, such a work of fiction (created entirely by men) in no way proves that the experience would or could ever have had such an effect (on women) in the real closet (or student lounge, or kitchen). Nevertheless, Kill Your Television Theatre's highly regarded production is an important example of the non-naturalistic presentation for contemporary audiences of a tragedy written at the turn of the seventeenth century, as were *Antonius* and *Mariam*. The work may well be described in the same terms with which Simone Benmussa describes her feminist project of adapting and staging Hélène Cixous' radio play, *Portrait de Dora*: "It is radically opposed to the great edifying and reproducing machines that we see all around us at the moment" (11).[320] Certainly the spectator of *Shakespeare's R&J* is offered no vision of ideal, ahistorical, eternal female beauty, either alive or dead. Furthermore, although Sutley's actors were not "quoting" their characters as in Brecht's epic theatre, they were playing characters who were quoting Shakespeare (or his characters), and I would argue that Diamond's description of feminist-Brechtian theatre applies to *Shakespeare's R&J*: what the spectator sees performed "is not a mere miming of a social relationship, but a *reading of it*" (53).

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[319] First produced by the Expanded Arts Theatre Company, New York, in September, 1997, and subsequently produced Off-Broadway by Frederic B. Vogel, Bruce Lazarus and Roger Alan Gindi in January, 1998, at the John Houseman Studio Theatre.

Contemporary theatre offers a rich array of strategies for "ruin[ing] the scopic regime of the perspectival realist stage" (Diamond 53), some of which are highly suitable to early modern texts written in the early days of that regime. Both *Mariam* and *Antonius* set up frames in order to draw our attention to what they exclude, and to the dangerous illusions they feed. At the end of her act 1 soliloquy, Salome observes, "Silleus said, / He would be here, and see, he comes at last. / Had I not nam'd him, longer had he stay'd" (1.4.322b-24). Hodgson-Wright offers an insightful comment on this passage, one with implications I should like to take further: "These lines clearly refer to the crucial function, not of Salome the character, but of the actor playing Salome, to summon the actor playing Silleus into the playing space. Until he gets his cue, he cannot make his entrance. Salome's dialogue, in breaking the theatrical frame, draws attention to its very existence."[321] Although Salome has been recognized by critics as a master of controlling how she is seen, her comment here also reminds us of the unseen spaces, of all those places and bodies, all those perspectives, that the proscenium excludes. Furthermore, if read not as a moment of metatheatre (although it certainly is that) but as character exposition, then Salome's comment, with its celebration of a patently illusory power, also suggests the insanity of those who believe in the mastery over narrative that the frame promises to the one who wields it.

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[320] The English translation, *Portrait of Dora*, from which I quote here, was first performed in London in 1979. Benmussa directed.

[321] Quoted from Hodgson-Wright's commentary on her production of *Mariam*, part of the video *Women Dramatists 1550-1670: Plays in Performance (1)*.

In *Antonius*, conversely, Dircitus introduces his act 4 narrative of Cleopatra's lifting of Antony into her monument with the comment, "So pittifull a sight was never sene" (1651). In this way Dircitus reminds *his* audience, Caesar, of how much is beyond Caesar's mastering gaze. Both this speech and Salome's, then, call for productions committed to alienating the frame: stagings like Benmussa's *Dora* and like Edmonton director Heather Inglis's production of Sharon Pollock's *The Making of Warriors*, also a radio play adapted for the stage (in this case by Pollock herself). *Dora* explores Freud's first case study through multiple points of view, but privileges Dora's over Freud's; *Warriors* dramatizes the stories of three women activists and one woman bystander, eyewitness to the murder of one of those activists, Anna Mae Pictou Aquash. Both productions refused the conventions of realism, using performances that disrupted the process by which "actors embody a character" (Benmussa 12). Their set design and use of theatrical apparatus enabled Benmussa and Inglis to achieve what Willis describes regarding *Dora* as a "de-contextualizing and recontextualizing that combines mutually exclusive or interfering discourses in such a way that both the selective and limiting functions of the *frame* are thrown into relief" (82). In the brief discussion that follows I identify just a few of the many noteworthy strategies being used by such directors as Benmussa and Inglis today, and suggest how they might effectively be used to produce stagings of *Antonius* and *Mariam* that recognize their author's interrogation of the frame and honour their concern with coherence in ways appropriate to contemporary audiences. Such a discussion must of necessity be tentative. It is speculative, not prescriptive; it is an invitation to experiment, not the final answer to any question. It is an acknowledgement that, when it comes to Pembroke, Cary, theatricality, and performativity, there remain many more questions to be asked. As such, it is also a celebration of that uncertainty of sight so lamented by Cary's act 5 Chorus. We may recall the Chorus's complaint that to see such sights as are inscribed in Cary's dramatic script must perforce "of all certainty bereave" the viewer (5.Chor.263). But as Inglis comments about the two rows of pillars that ran through the low-ceilinged basement room in which she chose to produce *Warriors*: "I like the fact that people couldn't see everything" (Interview).

Both the design of the performance space and the use of lighting in Inglis's production of *Warriors* refused the theatrical frame as well as the technologies that serve and supplement it.[322] In so doing, both set and lighting effectively served one of the play's central themes: that what happens to individual women is part of a pattern; that opening our eyes to women's historical reality is both a responsibility and an opportunity for transformation; that the innocent bystander is a myth. All of Pollock's work reflects her belief that "'a good play should provoke intelligent discussion about an issue or theme pertinent to our lives,'" and the script of *Warriors* is no exception (qtd. in Salter 1). It asserts the need for those who witness another's oppression to get involved, and celebrates historical women who devoted their lives—who gave their lives—in the service of others. Inglis's production drew the audience's attention to their own desire to be passive witnesses, by among other things frustrating their desire to get a good fix on the characters portrayed. Not only was the audience's view of the action sometimes partially blocked, but Inglis also instructed her actors not to hit their marks; they were to stay out of the light (Interview). The design of the performance space further ensured that the audience would not be allowed to sit in the cosy dark and have the actors picked out for their pleasure. Unmatched chairs were arranged café-style in small groupings around two sides of what was most obviously the playing space. But some groupings (*e.g.* two easy chairs flanking a small table with a lamp on it), that audience members entering the theatre found marked simply "Reserved," turned out during the course of the performance actually to be playing spaces. On the night I attended, I found myself turning around to observe a conversation between two actors that was taking place behind me, in chairs which I had assumed would be occupied by uninvolved spectators. Meanwhile, televisions with nothing but snow on their screens dominated the up-stage playing area, seductively framing emptiness throughout the play.

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[322] I find I cannot even speak of the set design and the theatre design separately: for the purposes of this discussion, "set" also refers to the space in which the audience was seated. Brian Bast executed both set and costume designs, and Paul Bazair created lighting design.

By resisting the now-conventional framing apparatus, Inglis's production foregrounded the complacency and complicity encouraged by conventional positioning of the viewer relative to the viewed, an approach by which both *Antōnius* and *Mariam* would be well served. But Pembroke and Cary, unlike Pollock, were writing at a time when the frame was not a given to resist, but rather an option to refuse, theatrically at least. (Socially it was rapidly becoming oppressively ubiquitous.) According to Anne Ubersfeld, "[T]he spatial structures reproduced in the theatre define not so much a concrete world, but rather the image people have of spatial relationships and the conflicts underlying those relationships in the society in which they live" (97). In order to do justice both to the "conflicts underlying those relationships" in Pembroke's and Cary's society, as well as to the "image people have of spatial relationships" today, a production of either text might well do more than resist the frame; it could foreground the fact that frames are built: the fact that framing itself is a performance, oft reiterated but not irresistible. Even on a proscenium stage, twentieth-century theatre offers strategies for dramatizing the act of framing itself. *Mariam*, for instance, might play well on a stage that, while more or less open (no solid walls or doors), was broken up into several different playing areas distinguished from one another by permeable and ambiguous boundaries, such as a floor divided up into small areas of different levels oriented in different directions, some framed with archways and railings.[323] The same space, half-enclosed by a railing, can appear to be a Juliet balcony one minute and a prison cell the next—much like Mariam's world.

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[323] This suggestion is similar, and owes a debt in its development, to one made by Garrett Epp that *Mariam* be produced in the multi-levelled lobby and on the sweeping, curving, railed staircases between levels, of the Mainstage, Timms Centre for the Arts. Because such a production leaves the proscenium frame literally empty, and completely dispenses with any formal boundaries between actors and audience, Epp's idea may well be the better of the two.

Herod's palace is a place where women are constantly fixed and framed, simultaneously confined and exposed. As we have seen, each new character entering in act 1 approaches Mariam or Salome as if she were completely legible in that moment and from that angle. Each is entirely ready to demand of Mariam, "What means these tears?" (1.2.1), to accuse her of "More plotting yet"? (1.2.1), to triumph that Salome is "Well found" (1.5.1), or to turn the moment of recognition into one of lamentation ("Oh Salome" [1.6.1]). As each female character on stage moves to avoid, welcome, or manipulate this new viewing, each actor entering the playing space could literally take a different point of view. In other words, each new character could enter from a new angle into a space that would literally frame the woman approached to different effect each time. In such a production at least one actor (probably the Chorus) should rise and approach the stage from the audience: with his or her act of injurious witnessing we who sit there in (dis)comfort would thus be made complicit.

It should also be similarly possible not only to alienate the apparatus of lighting but also to stage its active, deliberate, and injurious use. In Hodgson-Wright's production, the scene between Doris and Mariam took place in a spotlight. Hodgson-Wright stresses the spotlight's effect of obscuring the surrounding male images, but in my view the most powerful aspect of this directorial decision is its use of lighting to convey Mariam's imprisonment. In Herod's proto-panopticon palace she has always been under surveillance and thus imprisoned. Accordingly, Doris should not actually be in the spotlight, but rather outside it, enjoying the spectacle of Mariam's symbolic fixing in place for her or anyone's view. Even better, perhaps, would be to have two spotlights, coming not from above but from the sides, pinning Mariam at the point of their intersection.[324] In other scenes, actors could possibly flick on light switches when they entered the "room": different light switches at different spots, to create different effects, different visions, different vectors. I am also tempted to suggest issuing flashlights to each actor playing a male character, for him to turn on those already present when entering/inspecting, since the male actors in their entrances are more possessive and predatory than the women. In this way Mariam's inability to change how she is seen could be made visible.[325] Salome could pose for the approaching beam in order to be "Well found" (1.5.1); Pheroras could turn his flashlight on belatedly and hold it under Graphina's chin when he first promises to "boast / Graphina's brow's as white, her cheeks as red" as Mariam's, and then asks, "Why speaks thou not, fair creature? Move thy tongue? (2.1.39b-41). Or let Mariam be fixed like a deer in the headlights by Herod; let her be literally pinned in the crossed vectors of their beams by the members of his "royal guard," come to "conduct her to her death" (4.4.232, 240). Let the Nuntio in act 5 strike a pose reminiscent of Mariam for Herod's probing beam; let Herod's flashlight wildly sweep the empty stage. Let the Chorus while they speak sweep a frozen tableau of actors with searchlights or strobe lights from the Chorus members' positions in the audience. Let them also turn their lights on the audience. Let the audience share in the terror as well as the awareness of complicity. Let the actors try it this way once in rehearsal, at least. For the problem I would acknowledge with this strategy, other than the fact that it could simply come to feel boringly contrived long before the play ends, is that its logical conclusion would be for Silleus and Constabarus to duel, not with swords, but with their (nice, long pointy-handled) flashlights. And Luke Skywalker may not quite be the one whom we would wish to evoke at such a point in the action. Let the director test-drive her light sabers before she buys them.

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[324] This would be tricky, though, as one must not entirely blind either actors or audience members in the process. In Chapter Three, I suggest that the entire scene could take place in the dark. Either way would draw attention to the audience's desire for a clear view of Herod's victim.

But there are other options, other ways of dramatizing the women characters' experience of being framed. There are numerous ways for contrasting the living female body with the picture of one, as Cixous' *Portrait of Dora* exemplifies so well, a work that, as its title suggests, examines "the problem of woman immobilized in frame, as spectacle offered to view" (Willis 87). Benmusa "used slides, projected on to an invisible substance, which showed life-sized images of the actors, and also represented their placing and movements" (13). She also projected an image of Dora's dream of a painting:

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[325] For this suggestion I am again indebted to Inglis, whose production of *Warriors* had some actors in male roles carrying flashlights at times; their beams did occasionally get into the audience members' eyes.

> *Suddenly, the evidence that perhaps no one is aware of: the child Jesus in the Madonna's arms is none other than a miniature* DORA.
>
> *Filmed sequence, in three shots: The Sistine Madonna, substitution of the Madonna and* MRS. K., DORA *mirrored behind the Madonna. It's not clear which woman—Mary or* MRS. K. *is speaking.* (40-41).

As the production repeatedly substitutes one still for another or a still for a moving body, the effect is that, as Willis points out, "we *see* the frame, we see the cut. That is, we are aware of the operations of the enunciative apparatus" (85).

In Elizabeth Schafer's production of *Mariam*, "The Chorus was presented as Elizabeth Cary herself, positioned in front of a portrait which represented the masculine authority" of Cary's "husband" on stage (Hodgson Wright, "Introduction" 31). Hodgson-Wright had busts of three Roman heroes on her stage: both highly appropriate and imaginative set design features. But why not have a portrait or statue of Mariam? The actor playing her could enter in the first scene holding not a flashlight but a mirror, checking her tear-marred face against the ideal she must live up to, there on the wall, or there in its niche. Perhaps better yet, why not make every actor into raw material for a high-tech Pygmalion? In *Surface Tensions*, a recent work by Alberta playwright Elyne Quan:

> Quan appears for most of the show wearing a white paper dress on which various images can be projected as she tries out a variety of identities that she has either inhabited or fantasized about. The provisional quality of the paper cut-out dress, echoed in the paper screens and crumpled paper on the floor reinforced the sense that everything was being tried on. (Demers and Kerr 3-4)

According to Butler, "The 'moment' in ritual is a condensed historicity: it exceeds itself in past and future directions, an effect of prior and future invocations that constitute and escape the instance of utterance" (*Speech* 3). As we see images of WOMAN's past selves and alternative future selves, the historicity of that moment that is the ritual of the gaze is exposed: WOMAN's identity exceeds the body we see, in both past and future directions. Quan's strategy would work extremely well with either *Antonius* or *Mariam* staged as reader's theatre. Just put a few actors on stage, put them all in long white paper dresses, and project different images onto them: past selves, future selves, ideal selves, other selves. Sometimes identify the speaker and other times impose the image of someone entirely other than the character whose lines the actor is speaking—especially that of the man looking at the woman attempting to address him.

Both Mariam and Cleopatra encounter many people whose past memories and future fantasies of them are projected onto their present bodies. Especially in the case of Cleopatra, who disrupts other people's fantasy versions of her (and of themselves) by emphasizing how given to flux is her present body, the use on stage of at least one scrim on which images are projected might be particularly appropriate. Scrims not only allow for multiple (and sometimes dialectical) images, but they also, as Dolan points out regarding *Dora*, "divide the playing space into different levels" that can "correspond to the play's four levels of time—present, memory, dream, and fantasy, which also work to fracture the narrative" (102). As the narrative is fractured, multiple alternative narratives may be suggested, for scrims also draw our attention to what has been excluded, what is unimaginable. As Willis points out, "Screens, in general, function both as barriers and as supports for projection, and this, not without *framing*, enclosing an image while excluding something else—as its outside" (79). Cleopatra refuses to present herself as the coherent image of another's desire. Pembroke refuses to present Caesar's conquest as the foreordained realization of fate's decree, or to present Caesar as the gifted administrator who anticipates all possible outcomes. And the play's audience should not be encouraged to take Caesar's place as omniscient. Such permeable, ambiguous boundaries as scrims make it as impossible to know all as to see all. Regarding Cixous' authority figure, "What Freud strove to organize into a complete narrative account is reproduced in the play as fragmented, divided, a stream that is perpetually disrupted by obtacles or diverted in detours" (Willis 81). Narratives multiply as they are diverted; progress is interrupted, rendered doubtful, authority rendered contingent as inevitability is questioned. And as with Freud, so with Caesar.

In act 4 of *Antonius*, Caesar is, at the present moment, marching towards Alexandria in order to finalize his conquest. He is also, with Agrippa's encouragement, reliving the memory (or fantasy) of previously conquered towns' performance of his authority by setting up his "Image" (1382). And as we find at the end of the same act he is planning (or fantasizing) his triumph in Rome, with the conquered Cleopatra in his train, for the near future. Then Dircetus shows up and interrupts the train of Caesar's thought with a new narrative: the story of Antony's botched suicide and of Cleopatra's act of devotion to Antony, which is also an act of resistance to Caesar. These various scenes could be projected onto scrims throughout the act, and not necessarily coordinated with the moments when Caesar or Agrippa describe them. An early image of Cleopatra bound and captive in his train would provide a pointed comment on his whitewashed narrative of worship by those who "sacrifice to me doth dayly make" (1383), for instance. Sound could also be used: I imagine the scene of Cleopatra's captivity being accompanied by the sounds of a crowd yelling her name; this would appear to be part of Caesar's fantasized future, but then turn out to be all too real and all too present, once Dircitus shows up and explains how, while Cleopatra strained to lift Antony into the monument, "The people which beneath in flocks beheld, / Cri'de and incourag'd her, and in their soules / Did sweate, and labor, no white lesse then shee" (1668-70). With the crowd sounds remaining constant, the images projected could now show the counter-triumph at the monument, or this and Caesar's earlier conquests both at once. Perhaps after that the screen should go blank as he finally articulates his fantasy of triumph, which he now realizes may not happen. By act's close, Caesar's visions of himself as Emperor Pygmalion in Perpetuity have been entirely disrupted. But the crowd he has dreamt of is getting louder.

In making the simple suggestion that the scenes projected not match what is said or heard, I am again drawing on the examples of *Dora* and *Warriors*. Benmussa, especially, used not only "the multiple framings which split the gaze" but also "the voice detached from the body" to create "a discontinuous scenic space, ruptured by effects of heterogeneity" (Willis 90). In *Dora*, for instance, Dora identifies herself *to* Mrs. K. *as* "Mrs. K." during a telephone coversation (64). Even Freud discusses his own uncertainty in the third person: "VOICE OF FREUD. Whether or not he wanted to cure her in his own time, ... he will never know, and nor will she, and nor will I" (65). Productions that detach the voice from the body are appropriate to closet drama, texts written to be read by any, unpredictable, number of reader-performer-auditors—written, in other words, to accommodate and invite both part-sharing and doubling. And such strategies are particularly appropriate to closet drama that interrogates coherence, as I discuss in detail in Chapter Four. Given Cleopatra's commitment to being multiple and unfixed, it would be highly appropriate for her lines to be shared among many voices, or rather for her "voice" to be uttered by many bodies. There is no reason why the Chorus could not speak some of Antony's opening monologue, such as the *sententiae*. And there is no reason not to present one Mariam speaking and walking *and* another Mariam dead, either on stage or on projected images—while the Nuntio describes her last words and execution.

But in the absence of scrims and expensive technology, why not just have the same actor who plays Mariam also play the Nuntio, or have the actor who plays Diomede in act 2 of *Antonius* also play Caesar, that other man with plans for Cleopatra's body? If one way of unfixing the voice from the body is to stage multiple bodies for one voice, another way is to stage multiple voices for one body: this Shakespeare did with his doubling in *The Winter's Tale*, as Meagher points out, and this both Quan and Inglis did in their productions. In *Surface Tensions*, WOMAN ventriloquizes the various stereotypical Asian women whose images are projected first onto the screens behind her and then, as she steps in front of each one, "on her dress" (8).[326] In *Warriors*, Julie Golosky narrated the story of Anna Mae Pictou Aquash in the third person past tense, while at the same time acting it out *as* Anna Mae.[327] It was a highly moving performance—I think, for instance, of the scene in which Anna Mae is being violently interrogated by the FBI, in which Golosky spoke the line, "She is arrested, stripped, searched, and interrogated" (125). At that moment Goloski presented her character and inhabited her at the same time. It is a model of how effectively to present on stage for contemporary audiences the kind of narratives of martyrdom that Pembroke and Cary both include in their dramatic texts and in Pembroke's "Triumph of Death," narratives in which the female voice, detached from its body, has yet a vividly realized presence. Or to put it another way, *The Making of Warriors* recalls the making of Queen Elizabeth, by whose self-representations both viewer and woman viewed are radically unfixed.

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[326] "The woman is young, hip, and wears designer clothing"; then the slide changes and she is "in front of a "big, strong Caucasian male carrying a gun ... in a position that says 'protect me'"; then the "Slide changes to a sex vixen" and finally to a Kung Fu film heroine (8). In each case WOMAN steps in front of the screen, "adopts a pose that is complimentary to the projected image but retains the image on her dress" (8), and then delivers a short monologue in character.

In this project I have argued that Pembroke and Cary were very aware of the teleologies being imposed by their contemporaries on the literary, visual, and dramatic arts, during the heady days of English literature's first sustained surge of self-invention. In resisting this imposition, their closet dramas exploit the fact that every theatrical production is potentially a threat to the myth of historical necessity, the myth that one stands where one does, occupies the position and plays the role that one does, because one has in a sense always done so, was always meant to do so now, and always will. Both Pembroke and Cary are also keenly concerned with the question of how to make another, or oneself, feel both the past and the future in the instant, and with the question of whether, and how, it is possible to resist the compelling myth of time's inevitable progress. Both their dramas suggest that ritualizing the bodily act that accompanies threatening and injurious speech increases the difficulty of imagining resistance, and both suggest that resisting threatening and injurious speech involves, of necessity, shattering the illusions of the injuring party and all his, or her, witnesses. Within the plays, both queens seek to establish or maintain a public presence without compromising their virtue; both find at the end that the only kind of public appearance left available to them is that of the captive criminal; yet both find ways to refuse performing the spectacle of helplessness that Caesar and Herod both command.

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[327] This was a change from the original radio play text, which has a separate narrator.

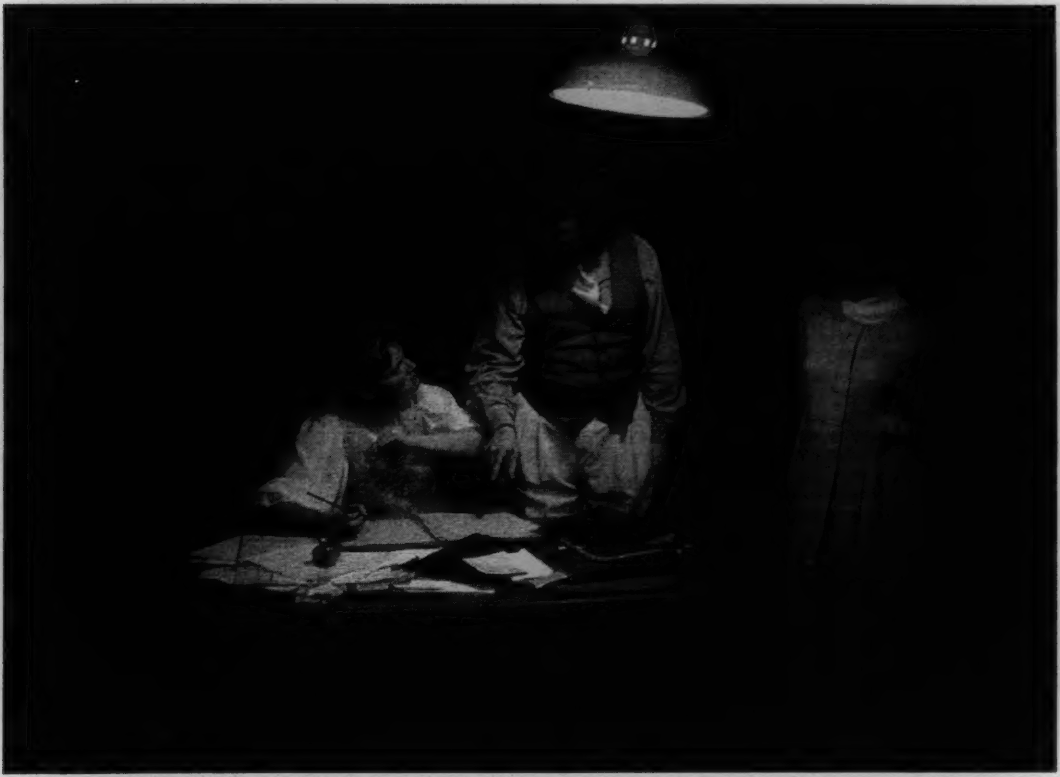

Figure 21
Sandy Paddick, Jon Baggely, and Sylvia Wong in a scene from
*The Making of Warriors* by Sharon Pollock, dir. Heather Inglis
Edmonton, 2003
Photo Heather Inglis

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